THE LODI PHASE OF INDO-ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

(1451 to 1526 A.D.)

Thesis submitted
towards obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of the Faculty of Philosophy of the
Freie Universität Berlin, 1961

by

Muḥammad Sirāju-'l-Islām M.A.

from

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Date of the oral examination : 26. January 1961

To my parents

R. UNIV.
BIBLIOTHEEK
LEIDEN

PREFACE

As the title of the work itself suggests, we shall be concerned in the following pages with the history of Islamic architecture in India during the second half of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth centuries. It may be interesting to note that our period of study coincides with a very significant phase of the history of European art and architecture. These were the days of Brunellesco and Michelozzi, Alberti and San Gallo, Bramante and Michelangelo and a host of many other other building genii that Europe has ever produced. And, it was at this time that the brush of the great painters like Raphael and Dürer produced marvels in the history of fine arts. Beautiful pieces of architecture at places like Florence, Venice and Rome still bear testimony to the height that Europe had reached in the art of building during this period. For Near Asia and North Africa also the period is of great importance. The Timurids and, after them, the Safavids were at the height of their glory in Persia and most of the finest examples of Persian-Islamic architecture e.g. those at Herat, Mashhad and Tabriz belong to this period. What is more, these were the days when the great Bihzad, the Raphael of the East, flourished in Persia. For Turkey, the period opened her Golden Age. Sinán, the master-builder of Turkey, had not yet opened his account but his real schooling took place during this time when a number of beautiful pieces of Turkish architecture - mosques and palaces, markets and baths, were raised at places like Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne. This was, again, the time when Qayt Bay the greatest builder of medieval Egypt and Syria and, then, Sultan Qasuh al-Ghuri, although the battle-field of Helipoli handed over Egypt to the Turks during his regime, beautified Cairo with mosques, madrasahs and mausoleums. In fact, some of the

most sensational events of international importance took place during this period. The Turks took Constantinople. Columbus reached America. The route via Cape of Good Hope was discovered. The globe was for the first time circumnavigated. Martin Luther protested. But I must point out here that the period marks no meridium for Moslem India. The empire of the Khaljis and the Tughlaqs had fallen asunder and the kingdom of Delhi squeezed itself under the Lodis within a part of northern India. They were destined to rule only for seventy-five years and, at least, two of the three rulers of the dynasty had a very tough time. South India was divided into a number of independent kingdoms. Bengal to the East, Gujerat to the West, Mandu in Central India and Kashmir and Jaunpur to the North proved formidable rivals of the Delhi kingdom. They were independent not only in their art of administration but also, to a great extent, in their art of building.

Limitations of time and territory of the Lodi dynasty, however, should not disturb us while studying their history of architecture. It is, of course, futile to look for a St. Peters or a Masjid-i-Shah or a Fatih mosque in the architecture of the Lodis. But, certainly, if the contemporary monuments of Europe marked a transition from the First Renaissance to the Second in Europe, from the building art of the Timurids to that of the Safavids in Persia, from the late Mamluke to the new Osmanli architecture in Egypt and from the old Turko-Persian to a new national architecture in Turkey, the Lodi monuments denote the transition from the pre-Mughal to the Mughal art of building in India. Herein lies the significance of the Lodi phase of Indo-Islamic architecture which we have proposed as the theme of our study in the present work.

But to work on this topic from Germany and, specially, from Berlin under her altered circumstances of

today offered manifold difficulties on the way. I hasten, therefore, to thank them all who helped me out of these difficulties and make the following acknowledgements in this connection:

Professor Dr. A.B.M. Habibullah, my teacher and Head of the Department of Islamic History and Culture at the University of Dacca kindly gave me opportunities to see the monuments all over India and Pakistan in course of educational tours organised by the Department and sponsored by the University during the years 1954-1958.

The University of Dacca, my employers in Pakistan, kindly granted me study leave for three years (1958-61) for this work at the Freie Universität Berlin.

The German Academic Exchange Service Bonn (DAAD) kindly offered me a scholarship and made my stay and work in Germany for these three years financially possible.

The Freie Universität Berlin, at the kind initiative of Professor Dr. H. Kauffmann, shared the financial load of this work by subsidising towards the cost of the plates.

Professor Dr. H. Kauffmann, Direktor des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der Freien Universität Berlin, kindly accepted the responsibility of supervising my work and helped me through all my difficulties in this connection.

Professor Dr. E. Kühnel had kindly lent his valuable guidance to me prior to Professor Erdmann's return from Turkey in 1958. My special thanks are due to him for placing at my disposal the photographic material collected by the late Dr. Cohn-Wiener, which is now in the archive of the Islamic Department of the ehem. Staatlichen Museen Berlin.

Professor Dr. K. Erdmann, Direktor der Islamischen Abteilung der ehem. Staatlichen Museen Berlin, offered all his kind help and guidance towards my work.

Professor Dr. W. Braune (Direktor, Religionswissenschaft, Freie Universität Berlin) kindly helped me in reading and interpreting the Arabic and Persian inscriptions in connection with this work.

Dr. D.C. Sircar of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, Mrs. W.G. Archer and Mr.D.Matthews of the India Office Library (now Commonwealth Relations Office) London, Mr. Skelton of the Victoria and Albert Museum London, Frau Dr. Zick and Dr. H. Härtel of the ehem. Staatlichen Museen Berlin and Dr. Klaus Fischer of Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut Berlin kindly helped me in procuring photographic materials I needed for this work in addition to those which I had taken myself on the spot. A number of the photographs, specially those for comparative studies, are reproductions from various publications which, I regret, is not possible to mention here for want of space.

The staffs of the Freie Universität Berlin Library and the other libraries of Berlin, West as well as East, were extremely kind and helpful to me. From libraries outside Berlin, specially Dr. W. Voigt of the Universitäts-Bibliothek Marburg, Dr. F.J. Meier of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich and Dr. E. Kümmerer of the Universitäts-Bibliothek Tübingen went out of their way to help me by placing literature at my disposal as I needed them.

Last but not the least, many German friends and well-wishers of mine whom space does not allow to mention here, helped me personally and encouraged me in every possible way to bring this work to completion.

I remain indebted to all of them and for ever.

Berlin,
25th November, 1960 Muhammad Sirajul Islam

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SHORT GLOSSARY

Arabesque	-	Ornamentation with fanciful intertwing of decorative elements
Basti	-	Village
Baoli	-	Water-reservoir or well with steps
Burj	-	Tower
Chabutra	-	Raised quadrangular platform or pavilion
Chhajja	-	Elongated eave
Chhancha	-	Same as Chhajja
Chhatri	-	Kiosk or small pavilion of a cupola supported on pillars
Dargah	-	Shrine of a saint
Gunbad	-	Dome, also called Gumbaz, used in India to mean a domed structure
Idgah	-	Prayer-place for the two annual Moslem festivals called Id
Iwan	-	A vaulted recess with three sides enclosed
Kangura	-	Merlon
Kotla	-	Citadel
Liwan	-	Cloisters of a mosque
Ma'azina	-	Architectural arrangement for call to prayer
Madrasa	-	College or school
Mahal	-	Palace
Maqbara	-	Mausoleum
Masjid	-	Mosque
Mihrab	-	Prayer-niche for the Moslems
Minaret	-	Tower usually attached to a mosque or a tomb
Minbar	-	Pulpit
Qibla	-	Direction for prayer
Qila	-	Fort
Sahn	-	Open courtyard of a mosque
Sarai	-	Caravansarai
Tahkhana	-	Underground appartments for retirement in summer

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Art and architecture are among the most important vehicles of human culture. As such, the importance of the monuments raised under the patronage of the Moslem rulers of medieval India did not end with serving their utility but they will continue to speak of the wonderful fusion between the architectural traditions that the Moslems brought with them and those of India herself. Let us call this art of building 'Indo-Islamic architecture'.

The political history of the Moslem rule in India may, roughly, be said to have begun already at the beginning of the eighth century of the Christian era when the Umayyad Arabs conquered a part of the country (Sind and Multan, now in West Pakistan). The extent of their conquests remained almost limited by the streams of the Indus and they continued to rule till the third quarter of the ninth century. By that time the Moslems had already built outside India monuments like the Qubbatu-'s--Sakhra at Jerusalem and the Jam-i-Masjid at Damascus and their architectural activities at Kufa, Basra, Fustat etc. had also been remarkable. But it is curious to note that they do not appear to have taken interest in building any monument in their part of India. At least, there is no vestige of any such monument. Unsettled political circumstances, distance from Damascus and lack of serious concern on the part of the rulers over this part of their conquests might have been responsible for the same. In any case, from our point of view, I mean architecturally, the period is of no interest.

Then came the Ghaznavids from Afghanistan and completed annexation of a part of the Panjab into their

dominions by the early eleventh century. The Ghurids, their successors in Afghanistan, pursued their Indian conquests more vigorously and with greater success and a considerable part of Northern India came under the Moslem banner by the last quarter of the twelfth century. Only then began the history of Indo-Islamic architecture with the first Moslem monument raised in India, the Quwatu'-l-Islam mosque at Delhi and the Qutb Minar attached to it towards the fag end of the twelfth century. After them three dynasties viz., the Khaljis (1290-1320 A.D.), the Tughlaqs (1320-1414 A.D.) and the Seyids (1414-1451 A.D.) came one after another and ruled the destiny of India from Delhi. The rulers of these dynasties were no mean builders, - a fact to which beautiful and almost countless specimens of architecture in Delhi and other places of North India bear testimony.

At this stage of events in the year 1451 A.D., the last Seyid king Alauddin Alam Shah vacated the throne of Delhi in favour of Buhlul Lodi, the then governor but defacto ruler of Lahore and Sirhind, and retired to Budaun. Buhlul took over as the Sultan of Delhi and with this the foundation of the Lodi dynasty was laid.

But who were the Lodis? - the reader may be interested to know. 'Lôdi' is an Afghan word. 'Lôi' means 'great' or 'elder' and 'di' is the third person of the substantive verb. The word 'Lodi', thus, means literally 'he is the elder'.[1] This appellation of honour as a symbol of superiority was for the first time confirmed on Ibrahim, one of the ancestors of the Lodis, by his father, Sheikh Beit Batni[2]. After Ibrahim Lodi his

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1. See Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.ii, p.121, note by Dorn.

2. Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.ii, p.49.
Ni'matullah the author of the Makhzan-i-Afghani (pt.ii, pp.23-24) relates an interesting story about how Ibrahim pleased his father by bringing him a baked bread while his other brothers were carelessly at play. The father was pleased and called Ibrahim,

progenies were also known as Lodis[3].

According to Ni'matullah, the author of the Makhzan-i-Afghani, the Lodis trace their origin from the Israelites[4] and their ancestors were progenies of Afghána son of Daud (David)[5]. Expelled from Shám (Syria) by Bokhtnasser (Nebukhatnessar), they migrated to Kohistan (Ghur) and settled down there. As descendants of Afghána, they were known as Afghans and the country of their settlement was called Afghanistan.

During the early seventh century Kais, the most powerful of the Afghan chiefs, went to Madina at the invitation of Prophet Muhammad conveyed through his general, Khalid ibn Walid and became a convert to Islam[6]. Since Kais was a Hebrew name, the Prophet gave him the Arab name 'Abdu-'r-Rashid' and honoured him with the title of 'Pathán'[7]. Abdur Rashid Pathan was later on

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'Lodi', by which he meant, 'he is the elder or superior'. See p.255 infra note on Makhzan-i-Afghani.

3. See Appendix for the genealogical tree of the Lodis.

4. For the history of the Jewish or Israeli origin of the Lodis, see Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, pp.1-42. cf. note by Briggs (vide.Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i,p.544) where he says, "The Afghans claim to be of Jewish origin; and though many of their customs favour this belief, the proofs are incomplete. Among other Hebrew peculiarities, is that of calling their chiefs Mullik." See also Asiatic Researches, vol.ii, pp.69-76 and Hobson Jobson, pp.7-8.
Sir Wolseley Haig (vide. C.H.I., vol.iii, p.224, fn.2) has said, "The Lodis were Khaljis or Ghilzais, Turks by origin, but so long resident in Afghanistan that by the fifteenth century they could be correctly described as Afghans." But the author has not substantiated his views.

5. Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, p.23. This Afghána was the commander-in-chief of King Suleiman (Solomon). See ibid. p.24.

6. Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, p.37. The pedigree of Kais 'ascends in a series of thirty-seven degrees to Talut, of forty-five to Ibrahim (Abraham) and of six hundred and three to Adam.' -ibid.

7. The word 'Pathán' literally means 'the wood on which the keel is laid while constructing a ship'. This title was given by Prophet Muhammad to Abdur Rashid

sent back to Kohistan and Ghur (Afghanistan) for the propagation of Islam. As a missionary he died in 47 A.H. = 662-3 A.D. at the age of eighty-seven[8]. After him the Afghans and so also the Lodis are known as Pathans.

Now, these Lodis, who belonged to the race of the Afghans or the Pathans, played a very important role in the conquests of the Ghaznavids during the 10th-11th centuries; and the Indian conquests of Shihabu-'d-Din Ghuri during the 12th century were mainly due to them. They continued to enjoy favours and distinctions under the independent Sultans of Delhi[9] till during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq (1351-88 A.D.), Malik Bahram Lodi migrated to India and entered into the service of the Sultan at his invitation. Bahram's son Sultan Khan Lodi who was entitled Islam Khan Lodi became the virtual ruler of Sirhind and Lahore under the regime of Sultan Mubarak Shah Seyid of Delhi (1421-1434 A.D.). Before his death, Islam Khan nominated his nephew, Buhlul Lodi, son of his brother Kala Khan, in preference to his own son, Qutb Khan Lodi, as his successor. Accordingly, Buhlul succeeded and behaved, like his uncle, as an independent ruler of Sirhind and Lahore. Stung with jealousy, Qutb Khan instigated the Seyid kings of Delhi to take measures to punish Buhlul's behaviour. But Delhi herself being invaded by Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Mandu, the Seyid kings were forced to pray for Buhlul's help. Buhlul saved the Seyid kings more than once but their weakness became exposed to the Lodis. At length, as we know, the weak Alam Shah (which means 'the king of the world'!) almost dramatically abdicated in favour of

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because his support to the cause of Islam was considered as valuable as that of a Pathan to a ship. See Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, p.38.

8. Ibid.

9. The Lodis are mentioned to have carried on trade with India during the 13th-14th centuries.

Buhlul. It was on the 19th day of April 1451 A.D. that Sultan Buhlul Shah Lodi assumed power and with that the history of the Lodi dynasty began.

But Alam Shah abdicated not without reasons. The throne of Delhi was really no bed of roses. In fact, the kingdom of Delhi which Buhlul was called to rule was limited within the city itself and it was surrounded on all sides with independent and semi-independent rulers who were sworn enemies of the kingdom. Buhlul, however, proved himself the man of the hour. He at once asserted his position and compelled Mewat, Sambhal, Koil, Suket, Mainpuri, Bhongaon, Rewari, Etawah, Chandwar and the other districts of the Doab to surrender. Twice he baffled the attempts of the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur to destroy the kingdom of Delhi and in their third attempt, Buhlul took the offensive and ultimately reduced Jaunpur into a province of Delhi with his son Barbak Shah as its viceroy. Buhlul's successes in consolidating the kingdom were unquestionable and he was given a long time, - twenty-nine years, - to rule. But most of the time the man was on the stirrup and while leading an expedition he died in July, 1489. We do not know if the warlike Buhlul was also a lover of art and architecture and it is not easy to judge because he had to keep always at arms. But the fact remains that these twenty-nine years out of the total seventy-five years of the Lodi period offer almost a blank page in the history of Delhi architecture.

But if Buhlul could not build himself, he prepared the circumstances for his illustrious son and successor, Nizam Khan, entitled Sultan Sikandar Shah Lodi (Juli 17, 1489 to November 21, 1517 A.D.) so favourable for building activities. Sikandar was no bad soldier. He marched against Tirhut and Behar and asserted his authorities up to the confines of Bengal. The chiefs of Dholpur, Chanderi and some other places were forced to submit.

What is more, to keep the unruly chiefs and zamindars of Etawa, Bayana, Koil, Gwalior and Dholpur he shifted his capital from Delhi to Agra in the year 1505 A.D. after a preparation of about ten years. For the first time in the history of India, Agra became the chief metropolis and it continued to remain so, although with small interruptions, for about two hundred years. Sikandar was the ablest ruler that the Lodi dynasty produced and his justice was compared to that of Solomon. But what is important for us to note is that he was an indefatigable builder. Not only the Sultan himself but also his ministers and nobles were great patrons of architecture. In fact, most of the monuments of Lodi architecture with which we shall be concerned in our present study fall during his regime.

The regime of the next and the last ruler of the Lodi dynasty, Sultan Ibrahim Shah Lodi son of Sikandar (1517 to 1526 A.D.), is a record of revenge and ambition, persecution and disaffection, cliques and rebellions. The Lodis themselves became divided and invited the Mughal, Babur, to invade. Babur, who was already waiting on the borders for this opportunity, availed himself of it at once. The fierce battle of Panipat in which Ibrahim himself was killed decided against the fate of the Lodis and in favour of the Mughals. It was in the afternoon of the 18th day of April in the year 1526 A.D.

The circumstances of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, therefore, being not in favour of building activities, the period offers but very few monuments. But, at least, one monument, the tomb of Sikandar Lodi at Delhi-Khairpur which Ibrahim built for his father is architecturally of immense importance.

The Mughals stepped into the shoes of the Lodis and, interrupted only by the Surs for a few years (1538-55 A.D.), they continued to rule till the middle of the eighteenth century. The same battlefield of Panipat,

where the Mughals took over from the Lodis, 'closed also the history of the Mughal Empire' in a 'most desperate of the three contests fought on the field on 14 January, 1761'[10]. The keys of Indian administration went into the hands of the British and with that the political history of Moslem rule in India came to an end. But the history of Indo-Islamic architecture, I would say, had drawn to a close already a century earlier, if not still earlier, with the construction of the Jam-i-Masjid at Lahore in 1674 A.D. by Emperor Aurangzeb. It is true that the Moslem architects continued to build monuments like the tomb of Rabia-ud--Daurani at Aurangabad (1679 A.D.), the tomb of Nawab Safdar Jang at Delhi (1754 A.D.) and the late eighteenth century Sonehri Masjids (Golden Mosques) at Delhi but these monuments exhibit only a tendency to imitate and to display cheap quality to which by that time the Moslem architects became victims. For India, it was a day of degradation in politics and economy and so also in art and architecture.

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It is my pleasant duty to explain why I chose to work on the Lodi period of Indo-Islamic architecture.

During the years 1946-48 when I was preparing myself for the Master of Arts Examination at the University of Calcutta with Indo-Islamic art and architecture[11] as my special subjects, I felt that much scope had been

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10. C.H.I., vol.iv, p.448.

11. I read Indo-Islamic architecture under Mr.Sarasi Kumar Saraswati, Reader at the University of Calcutta and author of 'Glimpses of Mughal Architecture' etc.

left for work on the architectural history of Moslem rule in India[12], particularly, of the pre-Mughal period. From April 1949 to February 1958 as I was reading the history of Islamic architecture with my students at the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca, my interests in pre-Mughal architecture became all the more crystallised. In March-April 1954, April-May 1955[13], February - March 1956, August-September 1956, February-March 1957 and, again, in December 1957 to January 1958, I had great opportunities to visit almost all the important centres of Indo-Islamic architecture in India and Pakistan on educational tour with my students. As I saw the monuments personally and repeatedly, I became particularly interested in the Lodi monuments. One must not bother about the short duration of the period; for, the monuments that the Lodis produced mark a definite stage in the process of fusion between Indian and non-Indian building traditions and, as immediate predecessors of the Mughals, they hold an important link between the pre-Mughal and Mughal architecture. I am satisfied that no proper understanding of the Mughal architecture can be had unless one has understood the Lodi architecture properly. But no work worth mentioning having been done on the period, I felt that there was a definite gap in the studies of Indo-Islamic architecture and I wanted to cover it. Hence this humble attempt.

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12. Monumental works have already been done on Islamic architecture outside India by Herzfeld, Diez, Gabriel, Creswell, Pope, Wilber and many other scholars of the same stature. How I wish that some work of the same standard be attempted on the thousands of monuments of no inferior quality and in no sense less interesting - lying scattered and in groups all over the vast regions of India and Pakistan!

13. In 1955 after my visit to the monuments, I read a paper at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, and tried to point out the problems of Delhi architecture.

The study of Delhi architecture in general may be said to have begun at the middle of the nineteenth century when Seyid Ahmad Khan wrote his Athâru-'s--Sanâdid in Urdu in 1847. One should not expect archaeological approach of the monuments in the Athâr but credit must be given to Seyid Ahmad that he was the first author to write on the Delhi monuments. After him, a host of scholars came forward to deal with the archaeology of Delhi but almost all of them followed the suit of Seyid Ahmad, specially, on the point of identification of the monuments. We shall discuss the available literature as we deal with the monuments in the following chapters and we shall also mention them in the bibliography of this work for ready reference. Their repetitions here being considered unnecessary, I may be allowed to point out in a nutshell that so far the Lodi monuments are concerned, the available references to them are very casual and opinions passing. No serious attempts have so far been made to identify the monuments or to date them. No comparative study of these monuments with the Islamic architecture outside India has yet been made; and the place of Lodi architecture in the development of Indo-Islamic architecture as a whole has still remained to be pointed out. Of course, I must admit that I have profited immensely by the available literature and informations of which special mention may be made here of the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, the List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments in the Province of Delhi by J.F. Blakiston and the Islamische Grabbauten in Indien etc. by Friedrich Wetzel. But nowhere the above-mentioned problems of Lodi architecture have been tackled. The purpose of the present study will, therefore, be to emphasise on these missing points.

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We propose to divide the entire scope of the work into two: the text and the plates. The text will, again, be divided into two parts - one, mosque architecture and two, tomb architecture. Each part will have its own conclusions. The plates, consisting of photographs, drawings and plans, will be arranged separately into three albums[14].

Question may arise here if the Lodis had built other categories of monuments than mosques and tombs. At least, it goes without saying that the Lodis had their forts and palaces to reside. So far the available literature are concerned, the Lodi kings are mentioned to have resided in the fort of Siri at Delhi till the shifting of their capital to Agra by Sikandar Lodi in 1505 A.D. The old fort of Siri is ascribed to Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 A.D.)[15]. The Seyid kings (1414-51 A.D.) the predecessors of the Lodis appear also to have resided in this fort-palace[16]. But the fort lies in hapless ruins today. Its materials had been carried away by Sher Shah (1538-45 A.D.) for the construction of his Purana Qila in its neighbourhood[17]. As at present, nothing can be reconstructed to determine if the Lodis had undertaken any additional construction works in the fort already existing. After the shifting of the capital to Agra, the Lodis must have had constructed a fort--palace there and I am convinced that it stood on the same spot where the Mughal fort of Agra stands today[18].

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14. See Appendix for list of illustrations.

15. Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, tr. Elliot and Dowson, vol.iii, p.200; Malfuzat-i-Taimuri, tr. Elliot and Dowson, vol.iii, pp.447-48; Ann.Rep., vol.i, pp.207-12; J.A.S.B. vol.35, pp.206-14 and vol.66, pp.123-27; Blakiston, vol.iii, p.168 and Keene, pp.59-60. Stephen, pp.83-84.

16. Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, p.249.

17. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.168.

18. Refer Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, pp.61-62; Baburnama, vol.ii, p.478; Humayunnama, 95-100; Muntakhabu-t--Tawarikh, vol.i, p.421, Iswari Prasad, pp.476-77 and also the footnotes at 19 below.

But the Lodi fort of Agra was also entirely dismantled by Akbar in 1565 A.D. to make room for his new fort. As such no vestige of the Lodi fort at Agra has been left[19]. The pre-Lodi forts of Hansi, Samana, Kalpi, Bayana, Sirhind etc. were in use under the Lodis and some of them continued to be used by the Mughals. But these forts also are in pitiable ruins and nothing can be said about the building activities of the Lodis there (Pls. 221, 222, 225). We could not, therefore, include the fort or palace architecture of the Lodis within the scope of our present study.

There is, however, at least one monument, the so-called Jahaz Mahal[20] at Haus-i-Shamsi, Delhi, which is neither a mosque nor a tomb (Pls. 223, 224). This monument is said to have been built as a Khanqah for a saint by some merchant during the time of Sikandar Lodi[21]. But it represents no striking features nor is

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19. See Ain-i-Akbari, vol.ii, p.373.
Muntakhabu-'t-Tawarikh, vol.ii, p.74.
Tuzukh-i-Jahangiri, vol.i, p.3.
Tazkeratu-'l-Wakiat, p.vii, introduction.
Silchand, p.11.
Ann.Rep., 1903-4, p.165, 5 fn.
Agra Transactions, 1874, Jan-June, p.xxv.
Smith, Akbar, pp.76-77.
Majumdar, p.136 and Erskine, vol.i, pp.437-38.
A.C.L. Carlleyle has argued that the Lodi fort lay to the other side of the Jumna, opposite to the Mughal fort (vide. Ann.Rep., vol.iv, pp.111-112). I find it difficult to accept Carlleyle's views. All the above-mentioned authorities subscribe against the views of Carlleyle.
General Cunningham has argued (Ann.Rep., vol.iv, Preface) that the Jahangiri Mahal of the Agra Fort could possibly be the palace of Ibrahim Lodi. But it is too remote a possibility. The Jahangiri Mahal is a typical early Mughal monument. The Lodi fort was of bricks whereas the Jahangiri Mahal is of red sand-stone and all the contemporary historians, referred to above, inform us that the old Lodi fort was dismantled by Akbar to make room for his new fort in 1565 A.D.

20. See Athár, pp.84-85 and Blakiston, vol.iii, p.67 for description.

21. Ibid.

it worthwhile to open a third part of this thesis only for this building. I regret, therefore, my inability in dealing with this monument separately.

A building at Agra-Sikandra has been mentioned by some scholars as the Baradari of Sikandar Lodi[22] (Pl.217). But I find it difficult to place this monument before the time of the Mughal Jahangir and I propose to identify it as a tomb raised originally for Mariama-z-Zamani, mother of Jahangir (d. 1623 A.D.)[23]. A bridge near the tomb of Sikandar Lodi at Delhi-Khairpur has been, sometimes, ascribed to the Lodi period; but there is sufficient literature to prove that it is a late Mughal construction. We have got, therefore, to confine our studies into mosque and tomb architecture of the Lodis.

During the Lodi period some repair works had, however, been taken up e.g. in the Qutb Minar, the tomb of Firoz Shah Tughlaq etc. - a fact which is evidenced by inscriptions (Pls. 230-234). But apart from typical Lodi inscriptions cut on plaster, nothing specific of the Lodis can be detected in these repair works. We are, therefore, not going to deal with them separately.

It is not impossible that there may be one or two stray monuments which may, perhaps, be ascribed to the Lodis but which do not find mention in our work[24]. To my knowledge, however, no such monument is left outside our discussion which may be characterised as a major representative monument or the features of which are not represented in one or the other of the monuments included within our present study.

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22. See chap.XIX infra, 6 fn; see also N.W.P.Gazetteer, vol.vii, p.587 and Reuther, p.44 ff.

23. I have a mind to publish a paper on this monument, the manuscript of which I have already prepared.

24. See, for instance, scattered ruins in Delhi with some Lodi features in Plates 226-229.

Before we pass on to our discussion on the monuments, I think, I must dwell on two more points[25]: one, in our attempts to fix the date of a monument, where there is no inscription recording its date, we cannot ignore the fact that it is neither easy nor safe to arrive at a definite or exact date. The monuments are sometimes so close in resemblances that, in some cases, it is almost impossible to arrange them in a chronological order with certainty. Our attempts to date the undated monuments, therefore, will mean attempts to arrive at an approximate date. And, two, I must confess that although I have visited the monuments concerned several times, it was not possible for me to take their measurements by myself. I had, therefore, to depend on the available literature for the measurements of the monuments with which we shall deal in the present work.

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25. I am indebted to my supervisor, Professor Dr. H. Kauffmann that he kindly made me alert on these points.

PART ONE

Mosque Architecture

Chapter II

A GENERAL SURVEY OF LODI MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE

The house of worship is held sacred and sublime by every religion. As such, the building of mosques has been encouraged as an act of piety for the Moslems by their religion, Islam[1]. The mosque, therefore, has come to occupy a very important, and perhaps the most important, place in Islamic architecture as a whole and, so also, in Indo-Islamic architecture. The Lodi Sultans, Sikandar Shah Lodi in particular, and their nobles seem to have been zealous adherents of Islam and the mosques built by them still bear testimony to the fact. Compared to the short duration of the dynasty, quite a good number of mosques was raised and, what is more important, their significance in the development of mosque architecture in the subcontinent of India-and-Pakistan is very great. Below is an attempt to introduce the monuments concerned to the reader and to determine their place in the development of Indo-Islamic architecture.

The Lodi mosques are located mainly in and around Delhi[2]. Of them, again, the Jam-i-Masjid of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur and the Moth-ki-Masjid near Mubarakpur belong to the congregational type of mosques. In fact these two monuments and also the Nili Masjid at Kharera (although smaller in scale and comparatively less congregational in character) may be regarded, from stylistic point of view and from their order of preservation, as the major representative mosques of the dynasty. We shall, therefore, attempt a possiblemost detailed study of these three monuments in the chapters following

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1. The Hadith or the Traditions of Prophet Muhammad have repeatedly enjoined the building of mosques as a great act of piety for the moslems e.g., 'If anybody builds a house for Allah (i.e. a mosque), He builds for him a similar house in Paradise.' (vide.Al-Jamiu-'s-Saghir, pt.ii, Cairo edition, 1306, p.151).

2. Lat. 28°41′N. long. 77°5′E.

immediately.

There is a solitary mosque in the village of Sháhpur Jat, Delhi. The mosque lies about 500 feet to the west of the village and about half a mile off from Moth-ki-Masjid. It is locally known as Lál Masjid. Unfortunately, no sufficient literature nor photographic materials are available on this monument. While giving a study of its inscriptions which are all non-historical in character, Maulvi Ashraf Husain has observed, "History is silent in regard to the name of its founder or the date of its erection, but on stylistic ground it may be supposed to date as far back as the Pathan period."[3] He has called it 'Muhammadi-Wali Masjid'. Fanshawe has only casually mentioned the monument as 'Muhammadi Masjid'.[4] I have come across no other literature on this monument. The only photograph which I could collect from the India Office Library (now Commonwealth Relations Office), London, (Plate 52b), exhibits, however, striking Lodi characteristics. Repetitions in the arches, typical small niches on the facade, coat of plaster over rubble masonry, short eaves supported by brackets and vertical impression of the wall are among its most notable Lodi features. The monument is in a pitiable condition of preservation but still it bears, at least, two very peculiar features: one, the line of eaves on the facade is uninterrupted by the portal in the middle, whereas in almost all Lodi monuments it is interrupted; and two, the niched recesses in the wall are distributed to the entire facade, whereas normally they are limited around the portal. Otherwise, its features are all represented in one or other of the above-mentioned mosques. This minor monument having nothing very important to add, we are not going to

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3. See Ashraf Husain, pp.65-69.

4. Fanshawe, p.245.

dwell on it separately.

Notice may be taken of another mosque at Delhi which is situated behind the jail (Plate 54a). The monument is in a dilapidated condition and no information about it is available. But even its ruins show strong Lodi features. The mosque, however, bears close resemblances with the mosque of Basti at Raipur Khurd, Delhi (No.8). The facade, the staircases and the roofing system of both the monuments are very similar. We shall mention about this mosque behind the jail at Delhi in course of our discussion on the mosque of Basti (chap. IX).

A mosque, known as Seyid's mosque at Samana[5] belongs to the time of Sikandar Lodi. According to an inscription on the Mihrab of the monument, its date is 901 A.H. = 1495 A.D. Another inscription noted by Charles Rodgers[6] outside the central arch records that 'the old mosque is dated from the time of Sikandar Lodhi' and that 'it had undergone restoration or repair works in 1025 A.H.' under Jahangir, the Mughal emperor. The founder of the mosque was, according to the inscription, one Amanullah and the rebuilder, Sadiq ibn Abdullah. Their identities are not known. Moreover, the mosque has been so much renovated that its original features can hardly be reconstructed, and no literature nor any material is available on this monument. It was not possible, therefore, to treat this monument in the present work. Charles Rodgers has, however, remarked, "There is nothing noteworthy in the structure of this mosque."

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5. Samana (lat.30°8′N.long.76°12′E) 'is now a long straggling town broken up by fields and ruins into populated patches. It is over a mile long and is about half a mile braod. There is nothing whatever in the place to indicate great antiquity ... The whole town is a wilderness of ruins of mosques and tombs and old palaces.' - Rodgers, p.21. See the accompanying map for location.

6. Rodgers, p.21.

At Sirhind[7], there is a mosque, called the Butcher's mosque (Plate 52c). While trying to fix an approximate date for this mosque, General Cunningham[8] has hesitated between 'the close of the Afghan period' and 'the beginning of the earlier Mughal period.' He has then fixed the date at 'about A.D. 1500.' According to Charles Rodgers[9], the monument belongs to the time of Sikandar Shah Lodi. Situated just outside the modern town of Sirhind to the north, the mosque, specially its northern end, is in a very dilapidated condition. Reports Cunningham in 1863-64, "... since I first saw it in 1838, the west end has fallen down, and the whole building is otherwise in much worse order."[10] Its original domes have disappeared, but from what has survived of this mosque, I do not find any reason to place it during the Lodi period. "Judging from the shape of the arches, I place this mosque as contemporary with the tomb of Subhan Begum", (the date of which is 902 A.H. = 1497 A.D.), observes Rodgers. But even the arches are typically Mughal. The treatment of the facade is anything but Lodi. I would call it definitely Mughal and it is impossible to place the onion-shaped domes before the seventeenth century. I find it difficult,

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7. Sirhind (lat.30°35′N. long. 76°19′E), a town about 140 miles north from the city of Delhi. "Whether Delhi, Agra or Kanoje were the capital, Sirhind was the route from Persia and Tartary, by which the conquerors of Hindostan advanced." - Hamilton, vol.i, pp.465-66. Sirhind was also important under the Lodis and, in fact, 'Buhlul Lodi was crowned here'. (vide. Muntakhabu-'t-Tawarikh, vol.i, p.306). But now, the place presents only a shapeless mass of extensive ruins. Some Lodi tombs may still be seen at Sirhind, on which we shall have occasion to deal in course of our discussion on Lodi tomb architecture. But no Lodi mosque appears to have survived. See Ann.Rep.,vol.ii, pp.205-212 for history.

8. Ann.Rep., vol.ii, p.211.

9. Rodgers, p.6

10. Ann.Rep., vol.ii, p.211.

therefore, to agree with the views of Cunningham and Rodgers in ascribing the Butcher's mosque at Sirhind to the Lodi period. This monument lies, therefore, outside the scope of our study on Lodi mosque architecture.

Apart from this, stray references of some mosques of the Lodi period may be found in solitary inscriptions. One mosque at Hansi[11], for example, called the Mosque of Abu Bakr Jawani has been referred to in a Persian inscription read by Blochmann[12]. The inscription records the building of a mosque by one Abu Bakr Bam Jawani near the shrine of Shaikh Jamaluddin on the 15th of Rajab, 896 A.H. which is equivalent to the 24th May, 1491 A.D., during the reign of Sikandar Lodi. It records also the name of the scribe, one Raza Qutb. But no material is available on this mosque nor has the builder, referred to in the inscription, been identified. "Who this Bam Jawani was is not known for certain. I do not know what Bam Jawani is. If the ā in the second syllable were not long, I would read 'Abu Bakr nām Jawānī, a youngman named Abu Bakr." - wonders Blochmann but he does not pursue the point further. I would, however, suggest that 'Jawani' should be read as 'Jalwani' and, thus, the builder, Abu Bakr Bām Jalwani should be connected with the family or clan of Ahmad Khan Jalwani who had been the powerful governor of Bayána during the reign of Buhlul Lodi and of his son, Sultan Ashraf Jalwani who was also governor of Bayána till 897 A.H. = 1491 A.D. when he was relieved of his office by Sikandar

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11. The town of Hansi (lat. 28°54′N. long. 75°39′E) is also known as Hansi-Hissar on account of its proximity to the latter. It is about 92 miles west by north from Delhi. See the accompanying map for location. Refer Ann.Rep., vol.xxiii, pp.13-25 for history.

12. For the text of the inscription, refer to P.A.S.B., 1877, p.123, article by Blochmann.

Lodi[13]. One Abu Bakr is, however, mentioned[14] to have been appointed Governor of Suisapur by Sikandar Shah Lodi in the year 922 A.H. = 1516 A.D. But the family name of this Abu Bakr appears to be 'Nagori' and not 'Jalwani'. I am, therefore, not in favour of ascribing this inscription to Abu Bakr Nagori, the Governor of Suisapur. Another Lodi mosque at Hissar[15] has been mentioned in an inscription also read by Blochmann[16]. This Persian inscription records the building of a mosque by one Fatima Khatun, 'mother of the mother of the great Khan, the distinguished Kutb Khan', in the year 870 A.H. = 1465 A.D. during the regime of Buhlul Lodi. But the monument is no more in existence nor any information about it is available[17]. A third inscription, now preserved in the Lahore Museum[18], refers to the building of a mosque by one Shadi Khan at Thanes-

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13. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, p.556-9.
As we know, the Afgháns are also called Patháns because they are said to have multiplied from their father of origin whose name was Pathán. The Jalwánis, as a clan of the Afgháns or Patháns, trace their origin from Jalwáni son of Sheerani, son of Sharkhbun, son of Sarbanni, son of Pathán. (vide. Makhzán-i-Afgháni, pt.ii, p.41).

14. Elliot and Dowson, vol.iv, p.468 fn.

15. Lat. 28°57′N. long. 75°24′E, about 105 miles west-north-west of Delhi. Founded by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughluq (1351-88 A.D.), the place is also known as Hissar-Firoza. The remains of this old city are very extensive but utterly in ruins.

16. P.A.S.B., 1877, p.94.

17. Cf. articles on Hissar in the Ann.Rep., vol.v, (Calcutta, 1875), pp.140-42 and vol.xxiii, (Calcutta, 1887), pp.24-25. But this Kutb Khan, referred to in the inscription, may be identified with the first cousin of Sultan Buhlul Lodi and son of the semi-independent governor of Sirhind, Islam Khan who had made Buhlul his heir in preference to his own son. See Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, pp.545-56 and Makhzan-i-Afghani, p.43.

18. Lahore lat. 31°36′N. long. 74°3′E., now capital of West Pakistan. For the text of the inscription, refer Rodgers, p.9.

war[19] in 899 A.H. = 1493 A.D. during the reign of Sikandar Shah Lodi. Before it was transferred to the museum, Charles Rodgers had found this inscription tablet serving the purpose of a lintel over the door of a graveyard at Thaneswar in which Fazil Shah lies buried. The tablet was, in fact, a pilaster of a Jaina temple, the sculptured part being turned towards the wall and the back-side being, obviously later on, inscribed in very legible Persian. Removed from its original position in some Jaina temple, this pilaster appears to have been used as an inscription tablet for a mosque built by one Shadi Khan. Still later on, it was used as a lintel for the doorway of the said graveyard, where Rodgers found it and from there it came to the museum. But neither the identification of the builder nor even the location of the monument is known. The said mosque, I should think, has collapsed and its building materials have been carried away[20]. We have not been able, therefore, to include any such monument referred to by stray inscriptions within the scope of our present study.

Percy Brown[21] has mentioned a congregational mosque at Lalitpur in the district of Jhansi[22], 'built in the style of the Lodis'. One should not understand by this

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19. Lat. 29°55′N. long. 76°48′E. Thaneswar is an ancient town, situated 83 miles from north by east from the city of Delhi. This was the scene of the war of the Mahabharata and near to this place stood the ancient city of Hastinapur. Refer Ann.Rep., vol.ii, pp.212-223 for the history of Thaneswar.

20. Charles Rodgers has ascribed the Patharia Masjid of Thaneswar to the time of Sikandar Lodi (Rodgers, p.11). General Cunningham, however, has placed it during the time of Firoz Shah Tughlaq i.e. between 1351-88 A.D. (Ann.Rep. volii, pp.222). I am also in favour of placing the monument much earlier than the Lodi period, for, I find it difficult to ascribe such a crude mosque with the features of a Jaina temple to the Lodis.

21. Brown, p.30

22. Jhansi lat. 25°32′N. long. 78°34′E.

that there is actually any Jam-i-Masjid at Lalitpur belonging to the Lodi dynasty, for, in fact, there is none[23]. Percy Brown's reference cannot also mean the Jam-i-Masjid of Chanderi near Lalitpur because the monument in question belongs to the Mughal period[24]. Some monuments, mosques as well as tombs, are, however, there at Eritchpur pargana Garotha, formerly belonging to Lalitpur, which are believed to be 'as old as the days of the Lodis' but they should not be mistaken for Lodi monuments; for, the Lodi Sultans had nothing, whatsoever, to do with the construction of these monuments[25]. Our study of Lodi mosque architecture, therefore, does not cover any monument of Lalitpur. Besides this, casual references have been made in literature of a few mosques to have been built at various places viz.,Mundril[26],

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23. Cf. Mukherjee, vol.i, section vi of chapter ii.

24. Cf. Mukherjee, vol.i, pp.15-16 and vol.ii, plate 55. During the time when the Lodi Sultans were reigning at Delhi, Chanderi owed its allegiance to the independent Sultans of Malwa or Mandu. It was one of the Lodi Sultans to possess Chanderi but their success seems to have been very short-lived in 1519-20 when it passed into the hands of a Hindu ruler, Medini Rai. In 1528 A.D. the Moslem rule revived and in 1562 A.D. it came permanently under the Mughals. See Ann.Rep., vol.ii, pp.404-412 for history of Chanderi.

25. Cf. Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Agra, for 1874-78, (Agra, 1874), issue : January to June, 1876, p.27.

26. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, p.586; see also Tabaqat--i-Akbari, p.165 and Tarikh-i-Badauni, vol.i, p.319. "Mundril, also written Mandlaer, is now in Karauli State. It lies about 12 miles south-east of Karauli town. It is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari (Eng. tr. vol.ii, p.190) and was the chief town in the Sarkar in Suba Agra. It is the Mandrel of the Imperial Gazetteer Atlas, 34 E2 and Constable 27 Cb." - Hodivala, p.494.

I am afraid, Hodivala's information above suffers some oversight. Mundril is shown in the abovementioned atlas as 'Mandrael' not 'Mandrel' and in plate No.36 E2, not 34 E2; cf. Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol.xxvi, Atlas, (Oxford, 1931).

"The town (Karauli) is situated about 75 miles S.W. from the city of Agra. Lat. 26°32'N. long.

Hunwungtur[27], Nurwur[28] and Mathura[29]. But there is no trace, whatsoever, of these mosques referred to in literature nor is there any evidence thereof to corroborate these informations[30]. At Mathura, for example, the same temple, which had been in existence in 1017 A.D. and which Ferishta would perhaps mean as to have been destroyed by Sikandar Lodi to make room for his mosque, was still standing unhampered till the early seventeenth century. No existing monument of Mathura can be ascribed to the Lodis and the mosque there is of

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76°55′E." - Hamilton, pp.387-88.

27. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, p.580; see Elliot, vol.i, p.229, for extract from Tarikh-i-Badauni.
"This is the 'Udantgar' of the Ain (tr.ii, p.190), where it is entered as a Mahal in Sarkar Mandlaer and stated to have a stone fort below which flowed the river Chambal. It is called Utgir, Awantgarh, Hanwantgarh and Himatgarh also. It is now in the state of Karauli, at the southern mouth of the Paniar Pass, which is between Narwar and Gowalior (Cunningham, Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, vol.ii, pp.328-30). Lat. 26°6′N. long. 77°0′E. It is shown as Utgarh in the Imperial Gazetteer of India Atlas, pl. 34 E2." - Hodivala, p.497.

28. See Tarikh-i-Ferishta, p.581; see also Ann.Rep., vol.ii, (Simla, 1871), pp.307-328; "... 40 miles south-west from Gualior. Lat. 25°40′N. long.77°51′E. ... in 1509 taken by Sikandar Lodi (from a Hindu prince) ..." - Hamilton, p.382.

29. See Tarikh-i-Ferishta, p.586; Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, p.66; "... 30 miles north-north-west from Agra. Lat. 27°31′N. long. 77°33′E." - Hamilton, p.367.

30. It is possible that these informations were devised by the chronoclers in praise of the Sultan, not an uncommon practice of the day. Destruction of temples and building of mosques in their stead being held by the 'fanatic' Moslems as an act of piety on the part of a midieval Moslem monarch, the chroniclers of the time, sometimes took the liberty of adding such quality while praising a Sultan. Sometimes they invented fancy stories or passed popular anecdotes, and even absurd legends in the name of the Sultan they narrated about. See Tarikh-i-Daudi, p.439; also Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p.172; Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, p.187 and Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, p.68. Cf.Hodivala, pp.467-9.

Aurangzeb's time (1681-1707 A.D.)[31]. These said-to-have been built mosques, therefore, do not form a part of our present study.

There is another interesting category of Lodi mosques which may be termed as wall-mosques. A wall-type mosque consists mainly of a wall towards the Qibla side with an open courtyard in front. It has no prayer-chamber enclosed with walls nor is it shaded with a roof. The courtyard is, however, often enclosed with walls. Such type of mosques is generally meant for public prayers in the open, specially, for annual Id gatherings. Sometimes, they are also found attached to a tomb or a graveyard, the purpose, in that case, being that of Djanaza prayer. The same type of mosques may be found in Persia and also in Turkey. Whereas in Persia, they appear mostly with an Iwan and are called Musalla, in Turkey they are known as Namazgah. The wall-type mosques had been known to India long before the days of the Lodis. The tomb of Sultan Ghari (1231 A.D.), one of the earliest existing monuments of medieval India, for example, has got a wall-mosque attached to it. The Idgah[32] near Qutb, Delhi, is also an example of the wall-mosque architecture of pre-Lodi days. Under the Lodis, however, the wall mosques appear to have attained the greatest popularity ever. We shall take three such mosques of the period, Mandhi Masjid at Bagh-i-Nazir, Kinait-i-Masjid at Mehrauli and an un-named mosque at Adchini, all belonging to Delhi and devote a chapter for each of them for discussion. The remains of the tomb of Langar Khan (Plates 135 and 136), a Lodi monument at Shamilat Deh near Zamarradpur, Delhi, show that this tomb also had a wall-mosque attached to it (Plate 136).

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31. Cf. J.A.S.B., vol.xxxiv, pp.155-167, Archaeological Survey of India Report on Mathura by Alexander Cunningham; Ann.Rep., vol.xx, pp.30-39 and Growse's Mathura, p.30 and p.120.

32. Circa. 1405 A.D. (Plate 49c).

But the whole monument is in hapless ruins and the wall-mosque has nothing special to add. We are, therefore, not going to deal on it separately[33].

There is still another category of Lodi mosques, which were built attached to tombs[34]. They are different from the first category of mosques, mentioned above, i.e. the congregational mosques, in the sense that they were not constructed as independent monuments meant purely for congregational prayer but, instead, they were meant as subsidiary structures to the tombs to which they were attached. Their difference with the second category of mosques i.e. the wall-type mosques lies in the fact that whereas the wall-mosques consist only of an exposed Qibla wall, these mosques are roofed over. Construction of such mosques appears to have gained a great popularity under the Lodis. These mosques have, normally, flat roofs, three bays and a reservoir attached to each of them. The mosques of Daulat Khan Lodi at Mehrauli and of Basti Khan at Raipur Khurd would fall under this category. We shall deal on them in detail. The mosque attached to the tomb of Yusuf Qattal (Plates 65 and 66) at Khirki Nizamuddin

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33. For informations refer Athár, pp.24-25; Stephen, p.167 and Blakiston, vol.iv, p.21. We shall dwell on the tomb of Langar Khan in part II, 'Tomb Architecture'.

34. It is a question whether these mosques were attached to the tombs or the tombs to the mosques. In fact, the whole idea of constructing such misques centred round the tomb. In this sense, these mosques had been subsidiary structures to the tombs. But judged from architectural point of view, these mosques supersede the tombs, which are mostly humble canopied structures supported on pillars, in scale as well as in impression and dominate as primary structures. This would reduce the tombs to the position of subsidiary structures attached to the mosques. In fitness of things, however, I would propose to use the expression 'Mosque-cum-tomb architecture' for such monuments.

has close resemblances with this category of Lodi mosques. It is, in fact, Lodi in style. But that monument does not fall during the Lodi period[35] and, therefore, we have not included it for discussion.

There is one such mosque attached to the tomb of Makhdum Jahaniya at Kanauj[36] (Plates 54b, c). It was built in the year 881 A.H. = 1476 A.D. which falls during the reign of Buhlul Lodi. But Kanauj was a disputed place and it is a question if in this year it belonged to the Lodis of Delhi or to the Sharqis of Jaunpur[37]. The occupation of Kanauj by Buhlul Lodi during this time was, to be sure, very short-lived and the place remained almost always in the hands of the Sharqis. What is more, the architecture of the mosque is entirely different from that of the Lodis. Our chapter on mosque-cum-tomb architecture, therefore, will not cover the mosque of Jahaniya at Kanauj.

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35. This monument finds, curiously enough, different dates in literature. Seyid Ahmad Khan has dated it for 903 A.H. = 1497 A.D. during the reign of Sikandar Lodi (Athár, p.23). According to Harcourt, the date is 1524 A.D. which falls during the time of Ibrahim Lodi (Harcourt, p.112). Gordon Hearn would say, 'it dates from somewhere about A.D. 1500'. (Hearn, p.42). Seyid Ahmad's dating for 903 A.H., however, seems to be a misreading for 933 A.H. which is equivalent to 1526-7 A.D. when the saint expired. The monument was raised by Shaikh Alauddin, a disciple of the saint, after his death and the time of construction would naturally fall during the Mughal period.
Cf. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.128; Wetzel, p.23 and Ashraf Husain, p.70.

36. "A town of great antiquity and celebrity, situated to the west of the Ganjes, about 65 miles West-North-West from Lucknow. Lat. 27°4′N. long. 79°47′E." - Hamilton, pp.374-5. See map for location.

37. See J.A.S.B., vol.xxxiv, pp.203-16 for report on Kanauj by Alexander Cunningham; see also N.W.P. Gazetteer, vol.vii, p.297 and Ann.Rep., vol.i, pp. 279-93, for history.

The so-called Ukha Minar of Bayána is a very interesting monument in the sense that it is the only available example of an independent tower raised for call to prayer during the entire Lodi period. We shall eventually see that the Lodi architects carried out novel experiments with engaged towers where, of course, they achieved the expected result; but they do not appear to have bothered about raising independent Minarets for their mosques. I doubt, if any Minaret other than the Ukha Minar was ever raised for call to prayer. In fact, the Ukha Minar by itself is a poor specimen of tower architecture; but, nevertheless, it is interesting. We shall deal with this monument in its proper place[38].

There may be one or two stray mosques lying over here and there which can be linked-up with the Lodis; but certainly they are minor monuments and, to my knowledge, they have no special feature to add which the monuments under survey will not cover.

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38. See chap. XI.

Chapter III

1. JAM-I-MASJID OF SIKANDAR LODI

Plates

1a, 1b, 1c, 2a, 2b,d, 2c

The Jam-i-Masjid of Sikandar Lodi lies in an interesting group of three buildings, situated in what was formerly the village of Khairpur[1] in Old Delhi and has now been converted into Lodi Gardens[2]. The group stands just to the east of Safdar Jang's tomb and only a few yards from the tomb of Muhammad Shah. Opposite to it is the so-called Shish Gunbad and further to the north-east is a tomb, ascribed to Sikandar Shah Lodi, near an old bridge. Besides the mosque, the group consists of a second building, which is popularly known as Bara Gunbad[3] and identified variously as a tomb and as a gateway, and a third structure, an arcaded cloister, said to be an assembly hall.

The entire group of monuments is arranged around a rectangular courtyard which measures 104 feet EW x 82 feet NS[4] and is raised 10 feet above the ground[5]. The mosque stands to the western side of the courtyard. To the south is the Bara Gunbad and to the east, the cloister. The three buildings are connected by

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1. "The large village of Khairpur stands opposite the tomb of Safdar Jang, at a short distance to the east, on the road leading towards Humayun's tomb." - Cunningham, A., Ann.Rep., vol.xx, (Calcutta, 1885), p.155; see the map of Delhi for location (Plate 1a).
2. The scheme of setting up the present Lodi Gardens was taken up in 1918-19 A.D., vide. Ann.Pr.Rep., Northern Circle, for the year 1918-19, p.75.
3. While "Bara Gunbad" means 'Big Dome', the monument appears to have derived its name from the lofty dome that surmounts it. When and by whom was this name first given is not known. The earliest mention of this building as 'Bara Gunbad', which I have come across, is in the List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments in the Province of Delhi by J.F. Blakiston, vol. ii, (Calcutta, 1919), pp. 33-36.
4. Blakiston, vol.ii, p.34.
5. Cunningham, Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.156.

2c walls along the southern side of the courtyard. "In the south-west corner of the courtyard is a small doorway opening on two flights of steps built in the 4c thickness of the wall. One of these runs to the south, to the roof of the Masjid, and the other to the north, to the roof of the gateway" (i.e. the Bara Gunbad)[6]. The remaining side of the courtyard, i.e. the northern side, lies open. From the remains of the wall adjacent to the cloister, it seems probable that the northern side also was once walled up and, of course, provided 2c with passage. The present flights of steps are evidently a later restoration work. In the centre of the courtyard are the remains of a small square platform, 25 feet and 6 inches on each side[7]. It seems to have once been a grave[8].

Below is an attempt to discuss the monuments individually.

The Mosque : The Khairpur mosque'which was used for 3a many years as a cow-house and so surmounted by squalid 3b huts as to be almost irrecognisable, has now been re- 4a claimed and put into repair'[9]. It is at present in an 4b admirably good order of preservation. The material used is rubble and plaster. The facade and the interior are cased with dressed granite and red stone has

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6. Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.157; Blakiston, vol.ii, pp.34-35.

7. Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.156.

8. Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.156; Beglar, J.D., Ann.Rep., vol.iv, (Calcutta, 1874), 'Delhi', p.68.

9. Blakiston, vol.ii, p.34; "I discovered it in 1865, when it was used as a cow-house, and was begrimmed with smoke and dirt and cow-dung both, inside and out." - Cunningham, Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.155; "This Masjid was cleared out on my recommendation by Colonel George Hamilton, Commissioner of Delhi..." - Cunningham, Ann.Rep., vol.iv, p.68 fn.

been used in the two projecting balconies to the northern and southern walls.

The mosque is rectangular in plan. It is elong-
4c ated from north to south and stands on a plinth about 10 feet high. The plinth is strengthened by means of vaults opening to the rear side[10]. As the drawing of the elevation of the monument (Plate 3e) will show, the facade has five arches which open the five bays
5a of the mosque towards the courtyard. The arches gradually diminish in size from the big central arch to the smaller side ones. The central arch has been stressed
5b by a rectangular portal which projects slightly out-
5c side the line of the wall like that of a Persian mosque. The portal is further distinguished by six flat niches, three on each side. The upper part of
6a the portal has been much affected by time and tide. It has been restored but not in its original state. It seems, however, very likely that the portal had originally projected itself slightly beyond the level of the parapet. But from its features and from those of the contemporary mosques, it does not seem to have
5d been as high as the portals of the Tughlaq or Jaunpur
6c mosques.[11] In all probability, the portal of this mosque, in its original state, seems to have been
6d like those of the Moth-ki-Masjid, Jamali Masjid and
6e Qila-i-Kohna Masjid. The arches of the Khairpur mosque

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10. Sir John Marshall has called these vaulted openings 'Tahkhana basements',- Cambridge History of India, vol.iii, (Cambridge, 1928), p.596; but certainly, these vaulted openings were meant only to strengthen the plinth and they had nothing to do with the purpose of a Tahkhana which means 'underground summer-resort'.

11. John Terry has argued that the portal in the facade of this mosque had originally been as high as those of the Tughlaq mosques, specially, the Begampur mosque (The Charm of Indo-Islamic Architecture, London, 1955, p. 31). This seems to be far from probable. Cf. pl. 5d.

are all pointed and are supported by massive piers. The three arches in the middle are drop ones whereas the two side ones are sharply stilted. Stress is given on the central arch by repeating it four times, while the other arches are repeated only twice. All the arches are decorated with beautiful inscriptions distinguished by sharp border lines. The spandrels are ornamented with geometrical patterns. Two medallions with Tughra inscriptions at the corners of the spandrels seem to have taken place of the traditional lotus. Each arch is distinguished from the other by means of a broad flat projection in the wall where stone of comparatively light colour has been used. Above the spandrels is a line of short eaves or Chhancha supported by proportionately short brackets. The continuity of the eaves is interrupted by the elevation of the portal in the middle. The projected
7a bay has been provided with an extra masonry band corresponding to the spring point of the arch. Above the eaves is a frieze plainly plastered over. The cornice is marked by a horizontal band of projection, above
7b which is the row of blind parapets with inscribed medallions.

The interior of the mosque is a rectangular a-
4c partment measuring 82 feet x 21 feet EW[12]. The rect-
9a angular apartment, which is the prayer chamber proper, has been divided into five bays corresponding to the five arched openings of the facade and is profusely decorated with inscriptions and geometric patterns cut on thick plaster. "The three central bays are roofed with squat hemispherical domes, the finials of which have disappeared, and two end bays with low flat
9b vaults."[13] The central bay is the biggest and the side

12. Blakiston, vol.ii, p.34; according to Cunningham's measurements, 82 feet NS x 17 feet 9 inches EW (Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.155).

13. Blakiston, vol.ii, p.34.

ones are gradually smaller in size. Each bay is c
10a posed of four stilted pointed arches which spring
from the massive piers of the facade on one side and
10b from the engaged piers of the Qibla wall i.e. the
western wall[14] on the other. The piers are of dressed
granite stone. The square space of the bays formed by
9a the four arches is receded into an octagon through
the process of corbelling[15]. The use of further
struts has been continued for the next stages of six-
teen sides and, then, of thirty-two sides and ulti-
mately, the transition of the square space below into
the circle of the dome has been complete. The mono-
tony of the horizontal courses of the otherwise bare
corbelled pendentives has been broken by the rows of
small decorative niches. The network has been carried
on up to the drum of the dome with comparatively big-
ger flat niches set into rectangular panels. Above
these panels is a band of inscription over which is
the plain intrados of the dome.

The inner surface of the Qibla wall is also divi-
9a ded into five panels, corresponding to the bays and
arches, by engaged piers. The central panel accommo-

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14. As it is well known, the Moslems offer their prayer towards Ka'ba in the holy city of Makka, the birth place of Prophet Muhammad and since Makka lies towards the west of India, the western side is the direction of prayer for the Indian Moslems. The western side, called the Qibla side, of an Indian mosque is, therefore, not exposed. It is invariably enclosed by a wall, called the Qibla wall, which accommodates the Mihrab, the altar, almost always a niche, where the Imam or the leader of the congregation takes his stand while leading the prayer. Reference may be made to the Qur'an, Sura 2, verses 139, 143 and 144 fixing the Ka'ba as the direction of prayer for the Moslems. See also Creswell, K.A.C., Early Muslim Architecture, vol.i, (Oxford, 1932), pp. 8-9, for the circumstances why on Tuesday, the 15th Sha'ban in the second year of the Hijra (11th January, 624 A.D.), the direction was changed from Jerusalem to Makka by the prophet of Islam.

15. Blakiston, vol.ii, p.34.

5a dates the principal Mihrab which is a flat arched
7a recess in the wall set into a rectangular frame. The
7b recess has a decorative lamp and a chain hanging from a pointed arch with figurative spearheads. The spandrel of the arch has two medallions of embossed inscriptions above which is a horizontal band of inscription along the springline of the concaved semi-
12a dome of the Mihrab. The Mihrab proper is responded to by two side niches, comparatively smaller in span
12b and rise. All the three niches are accommodated in the central panel and framed into a huge blind arch. Each of the other four panels has also three niches grouped together. The side walls i.e. the northern and the southern walls have each an arched panel in
9c the middle, set in a rectangular frame and further
13a relieved by a blind arch keeping symmetry with those
4a of the western wall. A five stepped Minbar or pul-
4c pit in the main altar speaks of the congregational character of the mosque.

The exterior of the side walls is thickly plastered over but devoid of any decoration. The window-openings in the walls have, externally, project-
15a ing balconies supported by brackets and slender pillars which is a novel feature introduced in the
15b mosque architecture of Delhi[16]. The rear angles of the

16. The idea of such projected balconies may be traced back to the blind projection in the rear wall of the Quwatu-'l-Islam mosque, Delhi (c.1200 A.D.) corresponding to the Mihrab (cf. pl.16b). We have also comparatively earlier examples of such hanging balconies in the mosque architecture of western India e.g. the Jam-i-Masjid of Champanir (1485 A.D.). Still closer similarities may be observed in the balconies of the gateways to the Lodi mosque at Bagh-i-Nazir, Delhi. (cf. Plate 48a) and to the Lodi mosque-and-tomb of Basti. (cf. Plate 58). This typical projected balcony became, subsequently, a very popular feature with mosque architecture in India.

16a mosque have two solid towers tapering above and re-
16c ceding into turrets beyond the roof level. They are
divided into four stages, each stage being marked by
17a a band of masonry projection crowned with blind
crestings. The third stage from the bottom has alter-
nate round and angular flutings[17]. The other three
17b stages are only plainly plastered over.

The external surface of the back wall has also been left plainly plastered, the monotony being bro-
18a ken by two horizontal bands with rows of blind crest-
18b ings, one above the plinth level and the other at the
20a cornice. The plinth is flanked by a row of five arches
20b
21a set in rectangular frames which open the vaults of
19a the plinth to the exterior. The middle of the rear
wall denoting the central bay has projected outside
the regular line of the plinth. This rectangular
projection has also two engaged solid towers at the
angles divided into four stages. Whereas the first
19b two stages from the bottom are semi-octagonal, the
third has alternate round-and-angular flutings keep-
ing symmetry with the towers at the two ends of the
mosque. The part of the tower beyond the roof-level
is plainly round and plastered over. It may be noti-
ced here that the continuity of the horizontal upper
band of the rear wall, mentioned above, has been in-
terrupted by these two towers. All the four towers
appear to have once been beautifully crowned with
calyx finials, now fallen down. Between the two
towers just below the cornice are four thickly-set
brackets which seem to have once supported a hanging
balcony similar with those in the side walls. The re-
stored wall above the brackets speaks of the discon-
tinuity of the parapet at this point. It does not
seem improbable that the mosque had, originally, a

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17. This is a very well-known feature first employed in India in the surface treatment of the famous Qutb Minar, Delhi (c. 1200 A.D.).

projected balcony here[18].

The roof has three domes with slightly raised
3a shoulders corresponding to the three middle bays of
5b the apartment and the three middle arches of the
facade. The octagonal drums of the domes have an
22a arched recess, framed in a rectangle at each side.
Along the circular base of the dome above runs a de-
22b corated band with blind crestings, lotus buds and
dentils visible from the courtyard[19]. The domes bore,
originally, calyx finials, similar with those of the
turrets, mentioned above. Corresponding to the two
small side arches of the facade and the two side ob-
3a long bays of the apartment are two oblong vaults
above the roof almost hidden behind the parapet.

The 'whole surface (of the mosque) is profusely
5c decorated with ornaments and inscriptions in stucco
6b on a blue ground, both inside and out'[20]. Lavishness
is there but novelty fails. Compared to other Islamic

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18. The purpose of such a balcony or Chhatri (kiosk) may have been only decorative. But from the absence of any minaret attached to this Jam-i-Masjid (congregational mosque) and from the provision of staircase leading to the roof, suggestion may, perhaps, be made that the once existing balcony served the purpose of a Ma'zina for call to prayer. If, however, it was used at all as a Ma'zina, its position to the back side of the mosque could possibly be due to the main habitations and traffic being towards this side. Calling the Moslems to prayer from the roof of a mosque was nothing abnormal. The Arhai din-ka Jhhompra Masjid at Ajmer (c. 1205 A.D., Plate 16d) the Jam-i-Masjid of Kotla-i-Firuz Shah, Delhi, (c. 1354 A.D.) and the Begumpur mosque at Jahanpanah, Delhi (c. 1375 A.D.) had, more or less, similar arrangements. Almost the same balconies appear in the mosques of Moth (c. 1505 A.D.), Jamali (c. 1536 A.D.) and Qila-i-Kohna (c. 1545) but, of course, in different positions, and, seemingly, as a decoration.

19. Striking similarities may be observed in the surface treatment of the domes of the Khairpur mosque and that of the adjacent building, the so-called Bara Gunbad (cf. pls.4a, b).

20. Cunningham, Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.155.
See Plate 3e for the treatment of the surface.

7 monuments, it lacks in differentiation. The single
8 elements are very sharply cut, not rounded, densely
13 set and are all on the same level. Ornamentation of this mosque reminds us of the flat Taxila pattern. They are even more conventional in design and of less variety. The ornamental elements of the same architectural design are repeated over and over again. There is, of course, a certain amount of artistic differentiation in so far as the ornamentation of the interior is concerned. It is richer and more varied than in the front arches. But the fact remains that in spite of profuseness, the whole ornamentation suffers monotony. Compared to the orna-
10c mentation of the Quwatu-'l-Islam mosque (c.1200 A.D.)
11 or of the Ala-i-Darwaza (c. 1305 A.D.), it is some-
25 what lifeless. The richness of Indian ornamentation continued in the stem-and-flower motive fails here. It cannot be compared either with the vivacious ornament of fiaencè mosaic which was used about the same time to decorate the mosques at Hirat and Balkh where the Timurid art was, then, in its height. The
10a arabesque in its classical form as a running creeper
10b is used only as border in the interior of the build-
13a ing, the big ornamental fields above the arches, and
14 fills the framework of the triangles in the corner. There it is as lively as anywhere in Asia in the art of filling the space in equal and continuous flow. The system of decoration marks an independent development and its connection with Timurid art seems improbable. It can only be compared with the border ornamentation used in book miniatures and, specially, where the carpet motive is adopted. Such miniature, sometimes, shows frames filled with arabesques of the same kind.

6b The spandrels above the arches are filled all
8a over the surface with very densely set patterns com-
8b posed of depraved arabesques. Evy leaf seems, at the

8c first glance, to have been the motive but closer observation reveals that it is composed of two arabesque leaves placed point by point. These double leaves are arranged in different ways, sometimes crosswise and sometimes as tendrils but are always set so densely that no ground is visible. Two ornamental forms which are derived from the basic arabesque can be noticed in the decoration. Both appear in the false window of the south wall. In the background of the niche, the split flowers are commonly used in arabesques and are arranged in rows. They are not, as usual, connected by spirals or tendrils but by an inter-design. This interlaced arabesque work has, perhaps, only an earlier example in the engaged corner columns of Jujuk Bika Mausoleum in the necropolis of Shâh Zindah at Samarkand dated 1371 A.D.[21] But while the general appearance is similar, the connection between the leaves in these two monuments are affected in absolutely different ways. Only in Delhi, and so also in the Khaipur mosque, are the interspaces filled with those lines which look almost like scrolled drawings. In the same window-like panel, the spandrels above the arches are filled with an ornament composed of two arabesque leaves holding between them pincer-like lanceolet leaf. The leaves are much split and deserted but the fundamental form and unity is not lost. This type of ornament appears several times on this building e.g. in the framework of the vault decoration and in the tendrils of the second arch from the right. And here also the elements are connected with each other by means of the same linear design. They are not necessarily connected with arabesques or their parts. They appear quite isolated, filling parts of the framework in the rows of niches around the cupola and in the corner triangles. These scrolls seem to have played a very important part in the scheme of Islamic ornamentation, which has not yet

21. Cohn-Wiener, Turan, (Berlin, 1930), cf. pl. xxiv.

been recognised. In case of this mosque, they appear, besides the latter, in a long row of book ornaments.

As we have seen already, the mosque is profusely ornamented with inscriptions incised in plaster. The epigraphs are of Naskh character. As an aid to the art of calligraphy, colour, specially red and blue, was used in the mosque. While many more inscriptions must have been, originally, painted with colour, only two painted ones survive to-day. One of these two inscriptions appear in the second bay at the centre of the intrados of the dome in a circular disc. The other is to be seen exactly in the same position, and form, of the fourth bay (from the southern side) which was originally painted in gold and colours but is, at present, covered with smoke. Some of the arched recesses above the pendentives bear inscriptions set in floral designs, two of them appearing very prominent in the fourth bay.

The inscriptions are 127 in number[22] and they may be broadly classified into two :

a) Historical inscriptions[23], and
b) Non-historical inscriptions[24].

Only five out of these 127 inscriptions may be treated as historical ones of which, again, that above

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22. Ashraf Husain, p.46.

23. For the historical inscriptions of this monument refer:
P.A.S.B. (Calcutta, 1873), p.159, article by Blochmann on 'The Sikandar Shah Inscription of 900 A.H.';
Ann.Rep., volxx, p.155, edited by Cunningham;
Blakiston, vol.ii, p.34;
Epi. Indo-Mos., 1919-20, pp.2-3, article by Zafar Hasan on 'Inscriptions of Sikandar Lodi in Delhi', and Ashraf Husain, pp. 32-46.

24. For all the inscriptions of this category, see Ashraf Husain, pp.32-46.

the niche of the southernmost bay is the most important. The inscription is incised in plaster and the art of writing is Naskh. The tablet consists of nine lines and measures 2 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 10 inches. The last line is partly obliterated but readable. The composition is in prose and the language, Persian. The inscription was first noticed by General Cunningham in 1865 A.D.[25] He has mentioned 'an alternately red and blue ground' for the inscription 'raised in stucco'. To Blochmann, the inscription 'looks more like a head-stone than a mosque inscription'[26].Maulvi Zafar Hasan's reading is one of the latest and, more or less, complete[27]. But we shall see eventually how differently the inscription has been read by different scholars and how differently it has been interpreted. This has, in fact, been greatly responsible for various, and sometimes contradictory, opinions with regard to the archaeology of this monument. Below is an attempt to give a possiblemost accurate reading of the inscription and, at the same time, a comparative study of the available readings[28].

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25. "I discovered it in 1865 ...." - Cunningham, Ann. Rep., vol.xx, p.155. For a reconstructed facsimile of the inscription published by Cunningham, see Plate 3c.

26. P.A.S.B. (1873), p.159.
The inscription refers clearly to a Jam-i-Masjid and it does not seem probable that this inscription-tablet had ever been used as a head-stone for a grave or in a tomb.

27. Zafar Hasan, p.2. For a facsimile of the inscription, as it is, published by him, see Plate 3d.

28. I am indebted to Professor W. Braune, Head of the Department of Islamic Studies, Free University of Berlin, for his kindly helping me in reading and interpreting this rather complicated but significant inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
قال الله تبارك وتعالى و ان[29] المساجد لله فلا
تدعوا مع الله احداه عمارت اين[30] بقع[31] شريف در
عهد سلطان السلاطين بادشاه ربع[32] مسكون
برگزيده حضرت كن فيكون الواثق بالتائيد
الرحمن ابو المظ[فر][33] سكندر شاه ابن بهلول شاه
سلطان كانه[34](؟) خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه و اعلى امره
وشانه درعمارت مسجد جامع نوع[35] بناكرده مغفور مرحوم
***[36] ابو امجد ومير جمان[37](؟) بتاريخ غره ما[ه][38] ربيع الاول سنه تسع مائة ٥

Cf. readings of: Zafar Hasan - Cunningham - Blochmann - Blakiston

	Zafar Hasan	Cunningham	Blochmann	Blakiston
29.	ان	ن	ان	عمارت ... begins from
30.	اين	ين	اين	اين
31.	بقع	بقعه	بقعه	بقعه
32.	ربع	رابع	ربع	رابع
33.	المظ[فر]	المظفر	المظفر	المظفر
34.	كانه(؟)	كانه	كله	***
35.	نوع ✡	نوع	بوع(؟)	نوع(؟)
36.	***	پسر مغل	(omitted)	*** مغل
37.	ومير جمان(؟)	ومنجنان	***	***
38.	ما[ه]	ماه	ماه	ماه

[ ] = reconstructed ; (؟) = doubtful ; *** = not readable.

✡ "This word seems to be gi, but misspelt in the inscription."
— note by Zafar Hasan.

I would translate the above inscription into English as follows:

'In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Compassionate. God the Most Exalted and High has said, "And verily the mosques are for God and, therefore, invoke not anybody with God."

This building which is sacred and sublime was built during the reign of the King of Kings, the ruler of the fourth part of the inhabited world, the favoured one of the Almighty who said, "Let there be" and it was, the dependent on the help of the Most Merciful, Abu-'l-Muza (ffar) Sikandar Shah son of Buhlul Sháh Sultan - may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign, and exalt his command and dignity, - as a new congregational mosque of the locality[39]. (Constructed by) the pardoned and the blessed[40] (here two words are not readable) Abu Amjad and Mir Jahan[41]. Dated the first of the month of Rabiu-'l-Awwal in the year nine hundred (= 30th November 1494 A.D.).'

A second inscription in Persian appears in the second bay above the pendentives. It is in two lines in embossed Naskh characters incised in plaster. It is badly mutilated and much coated with smoke, and the

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39. Cf.:
"This sacred edifice was built anew within the building of the Jami Masjid." - Zafar Hasan.
"The Jami Masjid has been newly built" - Cunningham, Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.156.
"The door of the building of the Jami Masjid (one word without meaning) was erected" - Blochmann, P.A.S.B. (1873), p.158.
"This noble edifice was erected .... in the building of the Jami Masjid' - Blakiston, vo.ii, p.34.

40. This should mean 'dead'. Perhaps, the architect Abu Amjad had died in the meantime.

41. Cf.:
"..... Abu Amjad ...." - Zafar Hasan.
"by the sons of the deceased Mughal Abu Amjad and Muhammad Habban" - Cunningham.
"Abu Amjad ..... (illegible)" - Blochmann.
"..... Mughal Abu Amjad ..... - Blakiston.

readable portions do not give any meaning but they, at least, show that the inscription does not contain any Quranic verses.

In the central bay, inside the arched recess to the south of the principal Mihrab is an inscription engraved in Naskh lettering. It has got historical importance in the sense that it contains the name of the scribe, one Hamid Sháh, the preacher at the mosque. This inscription is particularly interesting because it records the name of the person responsible for the writing of so many inscriptions of the mosque of which he himself was the Khatib or preacher, and it is important to note that the name of the inscription writer appears in more than one Lodi monument.

Above the pendentives of the central bay is a Persian inscription. It is in one line and in prose. But badly damaged and coated with smoke, the inscription is hardly readable. Still another epigraph in Naskh, also damaged and covered with smoke, is to be seen in the fourth bay above the arches. The readable portions, however, show that it was meant only in praise of Sikandar Lodi.

Maulvi Ashraf Husain has made an exhaustive study of the non-historical inscriptions of this mosque[42]. Their repetition being not considered necessary, an attempt may be made below only to outline their character and contents.

The non-historical inscriptions are mostly in Arabic. They contain mainly the verses from the Qur'án or other religious creeds of Islam. They appear in all the archways leading to the prayer chamber, in the soffits and the spandrels, in all the five bays, on the bases of the pendentives, in some of the flat arched

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42. Refer Ashraf Husain, pp. 33-46.

recesses, in the northern oriel-window and in the niches of the west wall. Some of them contain also the Hadith or the Traditions of the Prophet, Muhammad. Such inscriptions appear, for example, in the third disc of the southernmost arch. There is only one inscription in Arabic which is non-religious in character. It appears above the Chhajja or eave on the eastern facade of the mosque along with quotations from Sa'adi. This mutilated epigraph contains couplets said to be composed by the fourth Khalifah, Hazrat Ali. The non-historical Persian inscriptions of this mosque may be characterised as secular ones. Above the Chhajja on the eastern facade at a height of 25 feet 11 inches[43] from the level of the courtyard appear the first eight couplets from the Dibacha (preface) of Shaikh Sa'adi's Gulistan. Another Persian non-historical inscription in verse with defective composition, - the language being ungrammatical and the verses with no proper scansions, - runs along the border of the circular ceiling of the southern lobby. It is probable that the mason who executed the epigraph was responsible for the mistakes which have rendered the couplets almost meaningless. The inscription laments the inevitable end of life in this world. We may take note of the last Persian epigraph in verse which appears on the eastern arch of the fifth bay. The composition of this verse also is not a happy one. 'Life is short, Art is long' is its theme. It is in a mutilated condition.

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43. Ashraf Husain, p. 35.

The Bara Gunbad

The second building of the group, the so-called
23 Bara Gunbad 'is one of the finest buildings amongst
24 the ruins of Delhi'[44]. This monument of red stone stands, as it has already been noticed, on the southern side of the courtyard and to the south-east of the mosque, the gap being filled-up by an arcaded wall. We have also observed that his arcaded wall provides two
4c staircases - one leading to the roof of the mosque, while the other to the roof of the Bara Gunbad. Besides red stone, limited use has been made of black as well as white marble and also of red sand-stone.

The Bara Gunbad does not form a regular part of the rectangular platform on which the mosque and the
1b cloister stand. The plinth of this building breaks
23a the line of the platform and projects beyond it to-
23c wards the south. The northern wall of the building, however, pushes inside the line of the platform.

24c The building is square in plan, 62 feet and 6 inches on each side[45]. It stands on a square plinth about 10 feet high above the field level[46]. The plinth has arched openings, similar to those of the mosque, on three sides, east, west and the south. The walls above the plinth are about 6 feet thick and about 34 feet 6 inches high from the level of the courtyard. The total height of the building, including the plinth, is about 44 feet 6 inches[47].

The exterior of the building on four sides is so alike that it is sufficient to describe only one side.

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44. Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.157.

45. Ibid, p.157; according to Blakiston's measurement, 60 feet square, vol.ii, p.35.

46. Ann.Rep., p.157.

47. According to the measurements of both Cunningham (Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.157) and Blakiston (vol.ii, p.35.)

25a Let us take the northern side i.e. the side facing
23e the courtyard. The facade has got a corbelled door-
way in the middle, '30 feet 8 inches in height, with
black marble spandrels ornamented with white marble
26 bosses'[48]. The span of the doorway is bridged over by
27 bold, super-imposed brackets of red sand-stone, rich-
ly decorated with carved inscriptions, flowers, leaves
28 and geometrical patterns. The doorway has been re-
lieved by an arched window-opening above with red
sand-stone borders. Both the doorway and the relieving
arch are set into a huge blind arch repeated twice and
29 further accommodated into a rectangular frame, 'some
25 feet in width'[49]. With the rectangular frame, the
25a bay has projected itself frontwise beyond the line of
the wall and upwards above the parapet. The project-
ion above the cresting of the main wall is 'about
2 feet 7 inches'[50]. 'The piers of the arches some
5 feet 1 inch in width, are of local stone relieved at
intervals by minature niche - shaped panels in red sand-
26a stone, a row of which, at somewhat closer intervals,
23e runs across the top of the arch'[51]. These niche-shaped
panels are arranged vertically in sixes on each side
of the flat projected bay and further responded to by
25a a row of similar panels arranged horizontally above.
The portal is crowned by blind parapets with carved
geometric patterns and with two solid turrets at the
two ends. Flanked by this rectangular projected bay,
the facade has been divided into two equal halves in
case of the northern wall. The surface of each half
is, again, divided by a projected band of masonry or
a course of string into two parts, the upper and the
24a lower ones. Each part has two arched panels set in a
rectangle. Both the panels of the upper part are blind

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48. Blakiston, vol.ii, p.35.
49. Ibid.,
50. Ibid.,
51. Ibid.,

25a whereas in the lower one, the panel close to the doorway is open. Plain wall marked by a second band of masonry intervenes between the plinth and the decorated part of the surface. A third projected band or a course of string with projecting dentils at long intervals marks the cornice crowned with blind crestings decorated geometrically. The building has a so-
24b lid turret at each angle, above the roof level.

The interior of the building is a chamber,
24c 40 feet square[52], with four doorways in the middle of the four walls. It can be approached from the northern side directly from the courtyard and also
2c through the doorway to the western wall which is pro-
23 vided with two flights of steps for the purpose. The southern doorway also shows signs of similar flights
24a of steps leading into the chamber, now disappeared.
33b But the eastern doorway, as it stands now, does not show the existence of any steps for entrance. Perhaps, this was the wrong side for a passage, the habitations being towards the other sides of the building. But, then, symmetry or uniformity would demand similar flights of steps on this side also. It does not seem improbable, therefore, that the building had steps on this side as well. The chamber has a 'bench or seat, 2 feet 9 inches high and one-and-a-half feet broad, all round the inside'[53]. This stone
24c bench should invite our special attention; for, we shall see eventually, this feature has strong architectural objection to the Bara Gunbad being identified as a tomb. The rest of the room is left vacant.
30 The internal surface of the four walls is devoid of any decoration in contrast with the external surface. The square space of the chamber recedes into an oc-

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52. Cunningham, Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.157; Blakiston, vol.ii, p.35.

53. Cunningham, Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.157; Blakiston, vol.ii, p.35.

tagon by means of squinches at the four angles and the process of transition is further carried on into a tier of thirty-two sides till it merges into the circle of the dome[54]. Save for two bands of inscriptions bordered with floral designs and dentils at the apex, the intrados of the dome is left bare.

The building is surmounted with a single dome rising hemispherically from a sixteen-sided drum which measures 15 feet 9 inches in height.[55] The drum is crowned with a band of decoration keeping harmony with the projected masonry bands of the surface walls, with the dentils of the cornice and with the blind crestings of the parapet. The dome itself is 28 feet 6 inches in rise[56]. The impressive spring of the dome lends externally a, somewhat, bulbous view, very perfect and pleasing in effect. The curve of the extrados of the dome is so lofty that it is apt to lead to an optical illusion so much so that one may mistake it for a double-dome. The extrados is plainly plastered over. The calyx finial which once crowned the dome exists no more to-day, only the lotus base of it having been spared. The total height of the building is 77 feet 9 inches from the courtyard and 88 feet above the field level[57].

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54. Blakiston, (vol.ii, p.35,) mentions 'miniature brackets at the angles of the octagon'. He means, perhaps, the use of struts at the transitional points. But it is not understandable why both Blakiston and Cunningham mention use of pendentives in this building and compare them with those of the Alai Darwaza while squinches, and not pendentives, have been used for the transitional stages in both the buildings.

55. Blakiston, vol.ii, p.35.

56. Cunningham, Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.157; according to Blakiston's measurement 28 feet, ibid. p.35.

57. Cunningham, Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.157.

The monument bears no historical inscription. Spare use, however, has been made of non-historical epigraphs[58]. They appear on the exterior of the four doorways, on the spandrels of the small arched niches inside the drum and on the intrados of the dome[59]. The inscriptions are embossed Naskh in character and bear verses from the Qur'án.

The cloisters

35a The third building, attached to the Khairpur mosque, is a rectangular small structure which has
1b often been mentioned as a Majlis Khana or an Assembly
2c Hall[60]. Constructed of rubble and plaster, the building lies to the east of the courtyard, facing the mosque. Immediately to the north-west of it is the Bara Gunbad and the two buildings are connected by a
35a wall. The building is about 82 feet long and 10 feet broad[61]. The facade of the building has three arched doorways in the middle and two window-openings at the

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58. Ashraf Husain, p.32.

59. These bands of inscriptions in the intrados of the dome of the Bara Gunbad seem to have escaped notice of Maulvi Ashraf Husain; cf. Ashraf Husain, pp.32-33.

60. Fanshawe, p.244; Sharp, pp.71-72; cf. "To the east, there is a line of rooms for the readers of the Koran." - Cunningham, Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.156 and "The cloister opposite the mosque is of no interest." - Beglar, J.D., vide. Ann.Rep., vol.iv, p.67.

61. No description, whatsoever, of this structure is available. Since, however, the length of this building covers exactly the breadth of the platform, it is bound to be equal to that of the mosque, which, as we have seen, is 80 feet in length. The approximate measurement of its breadth has been arrived at from the available plan (Plate 1b).

two ends. The arches all spring directly from the wall and are set in rectangular frames recessed in the front wall. The arches of the doorways are re-
35b peated twice. The window-openings at the two ends
33a bear an extra lintel at the spring line. The tym-
panum of the southern window is filled up by a
34b stone slab whereas that of the northern one is left open. It is possible that this tympanum had also similar stone slab which has eventually fallen down. Comparatively darker stone has been used for the spandrels, each of which has two medallions of em-
35 bossed lotus. Above the frieze is the row of thick,
short brackets supporting the eaves or the Chhachas.
36a The cornice is plain and it bears no crestings or
33b parapets like the Bara Gunbad or the mosque. The surface of the walls on all sides is devoid of any decoration. The roof is flat.

36b The interior of the building is divided into three chambers, - that in the middle is a comparatively big room, rectangular in shape. It is oblong from north to south. The side rooms are separated from it by walls, pierced with lintelled doorways. The interior walls are also plain. A small window-
37b opening provided with a Jali or pierced screen above the lintel, two small flat recesses in the wall at each side of the doorway and stray embossed lotuses are, perhaps, meant to break the monotony of the wall. The flat roof is supported by four-centred pointed arches springing either from the walls or from engaged pillars. Brackets have been used at the angles of the arches which support flat slabs of stone gradually bridging over the space. This has resulted in the trabeated roof of the struct-

37a ure[62]. The two side rooms have low domes supported on angle squinches. The ceiling is decorated with running scrolls cut on thick plaster. The intrados
38a of the domes has typical Lodi concaved flutings, carved on thick coat of plaster. This feature may also be noticed in the Mothki-Masjid, Mubarakpur, (Plates 42d and 43b), the Nili Masjid, Kharera, Mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi, Mehrauli (Plates 60c and 62b) and in the mosque of Yusuf Qattal at Nizamu-'d-Din, Delhi (Plate 63e). The extrados of the domes has been filled up externally to merge with the flat trabeated roof of the middle chamber.

The building bears no inscriptions.

Before, however, we close our description of the Khairpur mosque group, it is important to notice that the enclosure walls, adjoining these three
2c buildings to the north, are 'not bonded into either the Masjid or the cloisters or the structure at the
23 side (i.e. the Bara Gunbad), of which, by the way,
33 it covers up parts of the north-west and north-east windows[63]. Their points of junction are plainly visible. This is important because it shows that the main buildings and the enclosure walls were not constructed at the same time. We may take it that the construction of the enclosure walls were not in the

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62. The trabeated system of roofing was adopted in Indo-Islamic architecture at the very earliest phase of Moslem rule in India, so to say, in the beginning of the 13th century. This was a phase when the Moslem rulers had to depend for their construction works on the local masons who had the tradition of trabeated roofing and who knew no dome. But by the early 16th century, when the Khairpur mosque group was constructed, true arches and domes had been built without number and the Moslems are known for their love for the arch and the dome. Trabeated roofing for this building is, therefore, a rather curious feature.

63. Ann.Rep., vol.iv, p.68.

original plan and that, as an after-thought, they were added sometime later.

1b(G) 2c 3a Last, but not the least, notable structure attached to the Khairpur mosque are the remains of a small square platform in the centre of the courtyard. It is now entirely in ruins. Beglar calls it 'the remains of a Chabutra', which means a square kiosk[64]. He seems to have presumed that they had, originally, a small superstructure on it. While suggesting the existence of such a superstructure, the author appears to have had in view the tombs of Shah Alam, Daulat Khan Lodi, Yusuf Qattal, Shaikh Alauddin, Imam Zamin and similar other kiosk-type tombs. Seyid 38b Ahmad Khan's illustration of the Khairpur mosque shows this platform in the courtyard clearly with gravestone but not with any superstructure on it[65]. The platform was, according to Cunningham, 'originally faced with red stone, but all the red stones, save those let into the ground, have been carried off'[66].

Date, builder and purpose of the buildings :

The date for the Khairpur mosque and the two adjacent buildings has not yet been fixed. Their builder or builders have not also been identified and save for the mosque, the purpose of which is obvious, the purpose of the other two buildings has remained still a subject to controversy. Below is an attempt to deal with these problems.

We have seen already that the inscriptions of the buildings do not help us in arriving at a definite date for them. The available literature on them is

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64. Ann.Rep., vol.iv, p.68
65. Athár, facing p.89 (Plate 38b).
66. Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.156.

also confusing on this point. The Lodi period, as we know, has no contemporary historian. Of the comparatively later historians, or chroniclers, who can be regarded as almost contemporary, the author of the Tarikh-i-Daudi[67] mentions a garden, called Bagh-i-Jûd[68], where Buhlul Lodi was buried[69]. The author of the Tarikh-i-Khan-Jahan Lodi wa Makhzan Afghani[70] also mentions this garden but calls it 'Bagh-i-Khud'[71], meaning his (i.e. Sikandar Lodi's) 'own garden', where, according to him, both Buhlul Lodi and Sikandar Lodi were buried. This seems to be the same garden which the Mughal emperor, Babur, had visited soon after his victory against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi[72]. I would locate the Bagh-i-Jûd on the spot of the present Lodi Gardens at Khairpur which contain a number of interesting monuments of which the Khairpur mosque group is one. But no historian nor chronicler of the pre-Mughal or Mughal period has mentioned this group of buildings.

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67. Abdullah wrote his Tarikh-i-Daudi sometime after the accession of Jahangir i.e. after 1605 A.D.; see Elliot and Dowson, vol.iv, (London, 1872), p.434.

68. See Elliot and Dowson, vol.v, (London, 1873), p.91 fn; Hodivala, (p.472) says, "Unfortunately, the exact site of the Bagh-i-Jûd is not known, although it is frequently mentioned in the chronicles of Minhaj and Barni."

69. Buhlul Lodi is said to have been buried at Chiragh-i-Dehli and an humble monument there has been officially recognised by the Archaeological Department of India as his tomb. I beg, however, to differ from this view. I shall deal on this point in detail in its proper place.

70. The Tarikh was composed between 1018-1020 A.H. (1609-11 A.D.) and upwards. 'The materials of the book were originally collected by Hybet Khan of Samana during the reign of Emperor Jahangir;' see the History of the Afghans of Ni'matullah, tr. Dorn, B., (London, 1929), p.3.

71. Vide Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, Rampur MS. f80; see also Hodivala, p.472.

72. "Next day (25th April, 1526 A.D.) I .... visited .... the tombs and gardens of Sl. Buhlul and Sl. Sikandar (Ludi)." - Tuzukh-i-Baburi, vol.ii, pp.475-76.

The earliest notable mention of these buildings that I have come across, is in the Atháru-'s-Sanádíd of Seyid Ahmad Khan (1847 A.D.)[73]. The author mentions this group of monuments as 'Mosque and Tomb'[74]. He calls them Pathan but adds that nothing can be said certainly about it[75]. It is important to note, however, that the Bara Gunbad, according to Seyid Ahmad, is a tomb, Harcourt, writing in 1870 A.D., identifies the Khairpur mosque as the mosque of Firuzabad which had impressed Taimur Lang during his invasions of India in the year 1398 A.D. and places the mosque in 1370 A.D. during the time of Firuz Shah Tughlaq[76]. He mentions nothing about the Bara Gunbad and he is also silent about the inscription of Sikandar Lodi which had been discovered already five years before Harcourt was writing[77]. In 1873 A.D., Blochmann dwelt on the inscription of the mosque but attached no great importance to it for the fixation of date for the mosque, because, according to his reading, the inscription referred only to the construction of a doorway[78]. What is more, Blochmann appears to have been in doubt if the inscription did

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73. This valuable work in Urdu was first published in 1847 A.D. I have used its second edition published from Lucknow in 1874 A.D.

74. 'Masjid and Maqbara' - Athár, p.84. There is a possibility of some misunderstanding here. While Seyid Ahmad enlists the monuments as Masjid and Maqbara, the sketch of the building supplied by him shows a grave in the open courtyard. By Maqbara or tomb, however, one should not understand this grave. This is a grave, not a tomb, - a Qabr, not a Maqbara. By Maqbara or tomb, therefore, the author seems to have meant the Bara Gunbad; see plate 38b.

75. Athár, p.84.

76. Harcourt, p.96.

77. See ante, 26. fn.

78. See ante, 39. fn.

at all belong to the mosque[79]. The next notable mention of the buildings seems to be that by J.D. Beglar in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1871-72. But Beglar does not attempt any fixation of date for the buildings. He, however, argues that the mosque and the Bara Gunbad are very different in architectural style, that the enclosure walls are later constructions and that the Chabutra in ruins in the centre of the courtyard 'must have been the original tomb belonging to the Masjid, and probably that of its founder'. Beglar seems, therefore, to be in favour of placing the mosque and the Bara Gunbad in two different periods, identifying the Bara Gunbad as a tomb and assigning the mosque not to Sikandar Lodi[80]. He finds the third structure, the cloisters, as of 'no interest' and gives no opinion thereon. General Cunningham, in his note on Beglar's text, differs with him and calls the mosque 'the Jami mosque of Sikandar Lodi'[81]. Carr Stephen (1876 A.D.) appears to be the next scholar to

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79. "The inscription .... looks more like a head-stone than a mosque inscription." - Blochmann vide. P.A.S.B. (1873), p.159.

80. Ann.Rep., vol.iv, p.68.

81. "I had supposed it (the Khairpur mosque) to be of the time of Firuz Tughlaq; but on visiting it, after it became accessible, I found an inscription inside, declaring it to be the Jama Masjid of Sikandar Lodi." - Note by General Cunningham, Ann.Rep., vol.iv, p.68.
Notice may be taken here of a letter of General Cunningham to the Secretary of the Local Fund Committee of Delhi, 1870 A.D., where he says, "... the southern group, which consists of a masjid and two square tombs (Shish Gunbad and Bara Gunbad) belongs, in my opinion, to an earlier period (than the Lodi). I am led to this conclusion by the style of the building which is quite distinct from the Lodi period (1450 to 1526 A.D.) as well as from that of the Seiad dynasty (1414 to 1444 A.D.)" - Extract quoted by Harcourt, p.96 and Keene, Handbook of Delhi, (Calcutta 1906), p.39. The General seems to have revised his opinion after 1870 A.D. although he had discovered the inscription already in 1865 A.D.

deal on these monuments. According to him, 'this mosque belongs to the Lodi period ... and ... the red-stone structure to the south of the courtyard of the mosque (i.e. the Bara Gunbad) is evidently a gateway[82]. In 1885 A.D., General Cunningham himself dealt on these monuments[83]. He fixed 900 A.H. = 1494 A.D., i.e. the date of the inscription, as the date for both the mosque and the Bara Gunbad. As for the purpose of the Bara Gunbad, he calls it 'a grand entrance gateway very much like the Alai Gateway of the Kutb Masjid'. He continues his arguments and concludes that the Bara Gunbad 'is undoubtedly a copy of the famous Alai Darwaza'. Now that the surface decoration of the Bara Gunbad, compared to that of the Alai Darwaza, is rather poor, Cunningham maintains his position saying, " I believe, ... that they (i.e. the surface walls of the Bara Gunbad) were originally covered with stucco ornaments and inscriptions like the walls of the masjid and they probably gave a copy of the decoration of the Alai Darwaza ... its prototype". He regards the eastern cloister as a subsidiary structure attached to the mosque for the readers of the Qur'an. He would, therefore, fix the same date i.e. 1494 A.D. for the cloister also. But the whole question becomes at once confused when he says, "... in the middle of the court, there is a raised platform, ... on which stands the tomb of the founder"; - founder of what? Of the mosque? Of the Bara Gunbad? Of the cloister? Or, of all the buildings? Now, that according to Cunningham himself, the Khairpur mosque is the Jami Masjid of Sikandar Lodi, the Bara Gunbad is its gateway, the cloisters are a subsidiary structure to it and all the buildings are of the same date, 1494 A.D., the question arises if he would identify this raised platform as the grave of Sikandar Lodi.

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82. Stephen, pp. 96-97.

83. Ann.Rep., vol.xx, (Calcutta, 1885), pp. 155-7.

The answer must be in the negative, because the General has accepted the identification of a separate building in Khairpur, which lies to the north-east of the Khairpur mosque group, as the tomb of Sikandar Lodi[84]. Would, then, General Cunningham ascribe this group of buildings, as a whole or in part, to someone other than Sikandar Lodi who flourished during his regime and whose grave is to be seen in the centre of the courtyard? The contentions of Cunningham, in any case, do not help a definite conclusion. Chas. James Rodgers (1891 A.D.) has only casually referred to the Bara Gunbad as a tomb but has attempted no definite identification nor dating of the buildings[85]. Keene has rejected Cunningham's dating and proposed to place the monuments at a date 'somewhat later'[86]. Fanshawe's account (1902 A.D.) on the

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84. Ann.Rep., vol.iv, p.99 fn.

85. Rodgers, Revised, p.90. "Learned men differ in their opinions as to the period when these tombs (Shish Gunbad and Bara Gunbad) were built. The northern (i.e. the Shish Gunbad) is said to be that of Ibrahim Lodi; but his tomb is at Panipath. The accounts given of the southern (i.e. the Bara Gunbad) are pronounced absurd." - says Rodgers. But what are these pronounced absurd accounts on the Bara Gunbad, the author has, unfortunately, not given us to know.

86. Keene, p.39. Says Keene :
"These works appear to belong to a somewhat later and more ornate style than that assigned to them by Cunningham and I do not think that they can be much earlier than the tomb supposed to be that of Sikandar Lodi (1500 A.D.)."
The above statement of Keene should not be accepted without reserve:
a. He does not agree with Cunningham because he does not think that the buildings in question 'can be much earlier than the tomb .. of Sikandar Lodi (1500 A.D.)' - But while Cunningham's dating is 1494 A.D., the point of difference between Keene and Cunningham is not understandable.
b. Keene mentions 1500 A.D. as the date for the tomb of Sikandar Lodi who died in 1517 A.D.While the Sultan does not appear to have built a tomb for himself during his lifetime, Keene's dating of the tomb seems to be at least seventeen years too early.

Khairpur mosque is rather carefully worded[87]. He calls the Bara Gunbad, 'a very fine gateway which from a distance looks like a tomb' and names the cloisters opposite the mosque as an 'Assembly Hall'. He fixes their date for 1498 A.D. but does not clarify why he would place the mosque four years later than the date of the inscription (1494 A.D.) nor does he give any authority for his date. In 1909-10 A.D., J. Horovitz enlisted the Khairpur inscription of Sikandar Lodi but interpreted that it referred to the construction 'of a door of a mosque erected by Abu Amjad'[88]. James Fergusson, writing in 1910, has mentioned the Bara Gunbad as 'the gateway to the fine Khairpur mosque ..... erected under Sikandar Lodi in 1494 A.D.'[89]. E.B. Havell (1913 A.D.) has not dwelt on this group of monuments at all but, curiously enough, he supplied a photograph of the Bara Gunbad and named it, 'The Tomb of Sikandar Lodi'![90] Friedrich Wetzel (1919 A.D.) had, naturally no occasion to dwell on this mosque in his work on Islamic tomb architecture in India; but his casual reference to this mosque is important to note. There he accepts this mosque to be the Jami mosque of Sikandar Lodi on the authority of the inscription[91]. It is also significant to note that he does not make any mention, whatsoever, of the Bara Gunbad while he dwells on tomb architecture. This should imply that Wetzel did not consider the Bara Gunbad as a tomb. According to

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87. Fanshawe, p.244.

88. Horovitz, p.71.

89. Fergusson, vol.ii, p.210.

90. Indian Architecture, (London, 1913), plate xi, facing p.104.

91. "Es bleibt beachtlich, daß in der Nähe des Grabes (des Sikandar Lodis) die Freitagsmoschee Sikandars liegt, die durch die Inschrift beglaubigt ist." - Wetzel, p.83.

Blakiston (1919 A.D.), the inscription 'refers to an addition made to the mosque, which must antedate the time of Sikandar Lodi', the ruined grave in the courtyard is 'said by tradition to be that of the founder of the mosque', the cloisters' are for the use of the readers of the Qur'an and to the south is the gateway (i.e. the Bara Gunbad).[92] H. Sharp (1921 A.D.) regards the cloister as an 'Assembly Hall' but makes a very non-committal statement on the Bara Gunbad mentioning it as 'a tomb-like building, generally described as a gateway' and remains silent about their date[93]. It seems that the author could not decide if the Bara Gunbad was a tomb or a gateway. Maulvi Zafar Hasan's conclusions (1920) appear rather too bold when he says, "The inscription only refers to an addition made to the mosque, and, therefore, its main building must antedate the reign of Sikandar Shah." "It is difficult," he continues, "to identify the addition now, but probably the original mosque contained only three domed compartments, while the side ones, of which that on the south bears the inscription, were added during the time of Sikandar Shah. It is not improbable that the mosque was also then renovated, as the incised plaster ornamentation of the mosque is evidently of Sikandar

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92. Blakiston, vol.ii, p.34. It is clear that Blakiston ascribes the Khairpur mosque, originally, to an unknown person whose grave lies in ruins in the open courtyard and only some addition work to Sikandar Lodi, a point on which we shall have occasion to deal in 94 fn. He places the mosque definitely before Sikandar's time. He does not dwell on the date of the Bara Gunbad nor of the cloister but, at least, fixes their purpose. The Bara Gunbad, according to him, is a gateway and the cloister, meant for the readers of the Qur'an.

93. Sharp, pp. 71-72.

Shah's time."[94] Gordon Hearn (1928 A.D.) observes rather cautiously that the Bara Gunbad is 'generally supposed to have been the entrance to the adjoining mosque, although there is another entrance which has been closed up'[95]. The latter part of the statement deserves special attention. It refers, most possibly, to the cloister (the so-called Assembly Hall) which, according to him, was the original gateway of the Khairpur mosque, subsequently closed up. Hearn points out to the massive masonry, the buttresses and the sloping corner towers of the mosque as 'characteristics of earlier times' but without pursuing his arguments, he refers to the inscription announcing the construction of the mosque in the time of Sikandar Lodi about 1500 A.D.[96] Sir John Marshall (1929 A.D.) observes the tahkhana basement and tapering

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94. vide. Epi. Indo-Mos., (1919-20), p.46; Zafar Hasan's observations may be treated carefully. His main objection in ascribing the mosque to the Lodi period is the back wall and, specially, the two tapering angle-towers. Had the two side vaults been, as Zafar Hasan suggests, added by Sikandar Lodi, the towers also, logically, should belong to him; because they stand at the two ends of the rear wall covering the two side vaults and not at the limits where the vaults begin. Should this be accepted, there should not be any understandable architectural objection in ascribing the entire back wall, so to say, the entire mosque to Sikandar Shah Lodi. What is more, a careful observation on the interior of the mosque, - the five bays, the aisle, the walls, the pendentives and the ceiling, will make it clear that the entire structure belongs to one and the same time. The plinth itself is a point against Zafar Hasan's assumption. It bears absolutely no sign of the supposed additional work.

95. Hearn, pp.62-3. This is a suggestion to be found in no other literature. No subsequent alteration work closing a gateway, as Hearn presumes, is traceable in the cloister. The structure does not appear to have undergone such alterations and it has hardly any feature of a gateway.

96. Ibid.

turrets at the rear angles as 'reminiscences' of the Tughlaq style in the mosque and stresses on the striking differences of its features but gives no opinion about its builder and date[97]. He classified the Bara Gunbad as a tomb and that of a Lodi noble and gives its date for 1494 A.D., most possibly on the authority of the inscription of the mosque. According to Maulvi Ashraf Husain (1936 A.D.), the mosque was'built in 1494 by Sikandar Lodi' and the Bara Gunbad 'is a gateway of the Jam-e-Masjid of Sikandar Lodi built about the year 1494'[98]. Percy Brown (1942 A.D.) treats the mosque as 'a kind of domestic chapel attached to the Bara Gunbad' built in 1494 A.D., and identifies the Bara Gunbad itself as a square type tomb of some noble, also built in 1494.[99] James Terry, writing as late as 1955 A.D., ascribes the mosque to the Tughlaq period and argues that the tapering turrets at the rear side are a Tughlaq feature and that the facade in the middle had, originally, a portal rising high above the roof level as in case of the Tughlaq mosque at Begumpur[100].

From the above survey of the available literature and discussion thereon, it will appear clear that the whole question of the date, builder and purpose of the Khairpur mosque group has remained still in confusion. The confusion has at all arisen because the mosque has some features closely akin to those of Tughlaq architecture viz., the vaulted openings and the tapering turrets. But it is not easy to

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97. Marshall, Sir John, The Monuments of Muslim India, Cambridge History of India, vol.iii, (Cambridge, 1929), p.596.

98. Ashraf Husain, p.33.

99. Brown, p.29.

100. See ante, fn. 11.

ascribe the mosque straight-away to the Tughlaqs only on these grounds. The mosque, in fact, has still stronger Lodi features viz., surface decoration cut on thick plaster, typical Lodi arches with multi-repeated recesses, inscription of Sikandar
45a Lodi and so on. The vaulted openings in the plinth
21c and the tapering turrets at the rear angles were no monopoly of the Tughlaqs. Same openings appear in the plinth of the Bara Gunbad itself, the Lodi identity of which has not yet been questioned. The fa-
38a mous Moth-ki-Masjid, undoubtedly a Lodi monument,
40 has similar vaulted openings in the plinth. For fur-
48a ther instances, mention may be made of a Lodi mosque
49c at Bagh-i-Nazir and another at Mehrauli, Delhi. The feature was continued, in one form or other, even in
45b the eighteenth century buildings. The vaulted open-
45c ings are, therefore, no natural corollery to a monument of the Tughlaqs nor an anti-corollery to that of the Lodis.

The solid, tapering towers at the rear angles have been another and, perhaps, the strongest of the arguments forwarded in favour of the Tughlaqs and against the Lodis. But exactly the same towers with slope and flutings may be noticed in the rear wall of the Moth-ki-Masjid. Again the same slope and flutings appear in the Bhure Khan-ka-Gunbad, a Lodi monument at Delhi. If sloping tower is the strongest point in favour of the Tughlaqs, well, this was a popular feature with mosques and tombs down to the
17d 16th century, not only in Delhi but also in other parts of India, for example, Jaunpur, Kalpi, Mandu and Multan. And certainly, the characteristic sharp slope in the walls of the Tughlaqs are absent from
17 the Khairpur mosque. The tapering, angle towers of
18 the Khairpur mosque, therefore, should not decide in
19 favour of the Tughlaqs, nor, in the least, against the Lodis. That there was a gap of hardly half a

century between the Tughlaqs and the Lodis, it is not surprising that some Tughlaq reminiscences should be found in Lodi architecture. Similarities of some features of this mosque with Tughlaq architecture, therefore, should be taken only as impacts of the Tughlaqs on Lodi architecture.

But in spite of some Tughlaq reminiscences, the Khairpur mosque has remained essentially a Lodi monument. The high plinth of a Tughlaq mosque, e.g., Kali Masjid, Kalan Masjid, Khirki Masjid, Begampur Masjid etc., has not been adopted for this mosque. It has been comparatively much lowered[101]. The tradition of Tughlaq slope in the wall has been rejected. Here the wall is almost vertical. The Mihrab is accommodated in a bay projected outside the Qibla wall in the rear, but it is not hidden by a second wall as in the case of Tughlaq mosques e.g., the Jami Masjid of
21c Firuz Shah Tughlaq in his Kotla, Delhi and the Kalan Masjid, Delhi. This projected bay has a hanging balcony supported by thick-set brackets and further responded to by oriel windows in the side walls, - a novel feature, hitherto unknown in Delhi mosque architecture. The rich decoration with inscriptions and geometric patterns on sharply cut plaster speak of typical Lodi feature, the Tughlaq treatment of the surface being only plain plaster. The central arch of the facade is repeated four times, a peculiar Lodi feature of which there is no example in any Tughlaq monument. The rectangular flat recesses on the facade, on the piers and on the surface of the walls in the interior speak decidedly in favour

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101. Of course, high plinth was not entirely rejected by the Lodis. The Lodi mosque-and-tomb of Daulat Khan at Mehrauli, Delhi (Plate 61a) has a plinth as high as that of a Tughlaq monument.

of the Lodis[102]. The Tughlaq use of double piers for the front arcade has been discarded in this Lodi monument. The transition of the circular ceiling from the square base is typically Lodi[103], the plain pendentives of the Tughlaqs being replaced by highly ornamented corbelled pendentives with tendency towards honeycomb or stalactite. The necks of the domes are raised comparatively higher than those of the Tughlaq domes, the process being further carried on and developed in the later Lodi monuments. The two side vaults are entirely a new feature introduced in Delhi architecture, - perhaps, an impact of Jaunpur architecture through the close Delhi-Jaunpur relationship under the Lodis[104]. The architectural features of this mosque, therefore, go to place the building during the Lodi period and the inscription further confirms the conclusion. There is, however, one point to be noted. The other Lodi monuments, specially mosques, seem to be more free from Tughlaq elements and more developed in the style of the Lodis. As such, the Khairpur mosque appears to be one of the earliest, if not the earliest, existing

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102. Cf., for example, with the tombs of Sikandar Lodi (Pl.170), Moth-ki-Masjid (Pl.39) etc. The feature appears already in the Seyid monuments and is continued later on in the tombs of Isa Khan, Hasan Khan Sur, Sher Shah Sur, Adham Khan etc. after the Lodis.

103. Cf., for example, the ceilings of Moth-ki-Masjid (Pl.436) and of the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi (Pl.61c).

104. Jaunpur was reduced to a province of the Delhi kingdom under Buhlul Lodi and it continued to remain so throughout the Lodi period. The Jaunpur architects and masons are said to have, as it always happens, migrated to Delhi with the hope of enjoying royal patronage there. It is very likely, therefore, that some Jaunpur features should have infiltrated into Delhi architecture. The rectangular side vaults of the Khairpur mosque, I should think, are an instance in point. Cf. Atala Masjid and the Jami Masjid of Jaunpur (Pls.6d and e).

mosque of the Lodi period. I propose, therefore, to place the mosque in the very beginning of the reign of Sikandar Shah Lodi and would accept the date of the inscription i.e. Rabi I, 900 A.H. = 30th November, 1494 A.D. as the date of its completion. Its foundation, I should think, had been laid a few years earlier but after the accession of Sikandar Lodi in 1488 A.D., the completion of the mosque with all lavish decoration works having required some considerable time.

As for the date of the Bara Gunbad, it does not appear to be exactly the same as that of the mosque. Its very foundation i.e. the ground-plan suggests that it was an after-thought. Its plinth does not form a regular part of the rectangular platform which accommodates the mosque, the cloisters, the courtyard and the enclosure walls. Whereas its northern wall breaks the southern line of the platform and projects inside the courtyard, the rest of the building stands outside the area of the platform, defying the original setting of the group. It is a different monument from the mosque in many ways. The material for the mosque is grey granite and rubble-plaster; for the Bara Gunbad it is red stone left exposed[105]. There the entire decoration-work is on cut plaster, here on carved stone. The scheme of decoration is rather crowded on the mosque, on the Bara Gunbad it is marked by simpli-

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105. Notice may be taken here of a remark by Cunningham (Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.157) where he says, "The walls of Khairpur gateway are now plain, both inside and out. I believe, however, that they were originally covered with stucco ornaments and inscriptions like the walls of the Masjid." This seems to be a remote possibility. No contemporary building of the same square type has in the interior surface lavish stucco decoration, in the manner of the mosque and it is difficult to imagine that the exterior walls of the Bara Gunbad had ever had a coat of plaster on them.

city. All these speak of the architect's preference by experience. He shows, now, liking for thick stone brackets, richly carved, for the doorway in preference to an arched entrance. The angle towers are discarded here; only solid turrets above the roof and the Guldastas around the dome are maintained. The shoulder of the dome is boldly raised and neatly finished. The curve of the extrados of the dome is ambitiously lofty, so much so that one could mistake it for a double-dome. Massiveness dominates the whole structure but not at the cost of proportion. With all these striking features, the Bara Gunbad offers itself as a specimen of a comparatively more developed stage of Lodi architecture. It is more developed than the Shish Gunbad which stands opposite to it. But one wonders when one marks the striking similarities between the Bara Gunbad and the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad at Humayunpur, Delhi, the date of which is, according to an inscription, 906 A.H. = 1501 A.D. These two buildings are so exactly similar that I feel almost tempted to fix up the same date for the Bara Gunbad. Of the two buildings, again, the Bara Gunbad is more ambitious in scale[106], and it is more perfect in finish. Use of red sand-stone is rather limited in the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad, whereas the Bara Gunbad is mainly a red sand-stone structure. In all probability, the Bara Gunbad was raised immediately after the construction of the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad. The architects of the Bara Gunbad seems to have had the experiences of the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad. Sikandar Lodi resolved to shift his capital to Agra from

106. Whereas the Bara Gunbad measures externally 62 feet 6 inches square and 40 feet square internally, the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad is 54 feet 8 inches square externally and 33 feet 10 inches square internally; see Blakiston, vol.iii, p.187.

Delhi in 1504 A.D.[107] and I would place the monument two or three years before that date, the time being required for its completion. 1502 A.D. seems to me, therefore, to be the most possible date for the foundation of the Bara Gunbad.

And, as for the purpose of the Bara Gunbad, we have seen already that opinions are divided as to whether it was meant for a tomb or a gateway. The monument is, apparently, in the same line with the contemporary square-type tomb architecture e.g., the Shish Gunbad (Pl.87), Bara Khan ka Gunbad (Pl.105), Chhotte Khan ka Gunbad (Pl.110), Phuta Gunbad (Pl. 122), Dadi ka Gunbad (Pl.113), Poti ka Gunbad (Pl. 114) etc. This led to its identification as a tomb. But there are quite a few strong logical and architectural objections to it. First, no grave or cenotaph is traceable inside the building nor is there any mark, whatsoever, of it to be seen. The remarkably good condition of the building does not show that the cenotaph or cenotaphs inside, if ever existent, could have suffered total extinction at the hands of Nature or man. There is an opinion that Sikandar Lodi had constructed the Bara Gunbad for his own tomb but his son, Ibrahim Lodi, did not consider the building fit for his father's tomb. He, therefore, constructed another tomb nearby, the so-called tomb of Sikandar Lodi of to-day, and buried his father there. This could possibly offer a ground for the absence of any grave inside the Bara Gunbad. But, I do not think, there is any support of contemporary literature or otherwise evidence for the authority of this opinion. And, then, Bara Gunbad is no mean structure. In fact, it dominates the whole group of monuments in the Khairpur area. There is no under-

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107. Makhzani Afghani, pp.61-62; Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, vide Elliot and Dowson, vol.v, pp.98-99.

standable reason why Ibrahim Lodi should have rejected it as a tomb for his father, had Sikandar Lodi himself built it for the purpose. Sentiment itself would have objected to it. Secondly, the wall towards the Qibla side i.e. the western side of the contemporary tombs is always closed and it accommodates a Mihrab[108]. But the Qibla side of the Bara Gunbad is pierced with a doorway and is provided with two flights of steps for passage. As a matter of fact, Bara Gunbad is a monument open on all the four sides, a feature not to be seen in the contemporary tomb architecture. This is, however, a feature not uncommon with the gateways e.g., the gateways of the Quwatu-'l--Islam mosque, the mosque of Firuz Shah's kotla and the Begumpur mosque. Thirdly, as we have already noted, there is a stone bench around the interior of the building (Plate 24c), I would invite special attention of the reader to this stone bench; for, this is a feature never to be found in a tomb architecture. Exactly, the same stone bench, however, may be noticed in the interior of the gateway of the Quwatu-'l-Islam mosque, the famous Ala-i-Darwaza.[109] What is more interesting to note is that another Lodi mosque,

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108. It may be noted here that the body of a Moslem, when buried, is laid in a position from north to south with the face turned towards the Qibla side i.e. the western side. That was possibly the idea why the western side of a tomb in India was closed or screened or, sometimes, provided with a Mihrab, as an insignia of sanctity.

109. It is a surprising co-incidence that the arrangement and even the measurement of the stone-bench of the Bara Gunbad are exactly the same as that of the Ala-i-Darwaza, which is also a gateway (2 feet 9 inches high and 1 foot 6 inches broad). It is not impossible that the architects, while building the Bara Gunbad, had considered the Ala-i-Darwaza.

the mosque at Bagh-i-Nazir, Delhi (Pl.48a) has got a surprisingly similar stone bench (Pl.48d) around the floor of its gateway (Pls. 48b and c).

In view of the above discussion, I would fix the purpose of the Bara Gunbad as a gateway, - but, not as a gateway for access to the mosque alone. The Bara Gunbad is much bigger than the mosque itself in dimensions; and, normally, a subsidiary structure should not surpass the main structure in proportions. It is the Bara Gunbad and not the Khairpur mosque that dominates the whole group and, as such, I would not treat it merely as a gateway to the mosque or only as a subsidiary structure attached to the mosque. It was meant for more than that. As we know, there was a large royal garden in this area, the so-called 'Bagh-i-Jûd',[110] often mentioned and praised by the Muslim historians and chroniclers. The garden contained royal tombs. It was, naturally, taken good care of and a befitting establishment must have been maintained for the purpose. The area was, certainly, one of the most frequently visited spots of the then Delhi; and the Bara Gunbad, I would point out, was the main gateway for access to the mosque, to the tombs and to the garden as a whole. And the mosque was meant for the visitors not only for congregational prayer on Fridays but also for daily prayers.

The third structure i.e. the cloister with two side rooms and a rectangular hall in the middle was, I should think, used by the caretakers of the mosque and the garden[111]. It is different in style from the mosque but closely akin to the Bara Gunbad. Its architects have avoided plaster decoration which happens

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110. See ante, fns. 68, 69, 70, 71 and 72.

111. This explains why the two side rooms are closed and not open to the courtyard. They have residential character.

to be the most striking feature of the mosque. They have rejected repetition of the arches also. Here, the arches are four-centred and very developed. Use of black stone also should not be lost sight of. All these features would take the structure a few years later than the mosque and place it about the same time as the gateway, the Bara Gunbad. I would, therefore, propose to fix 1502 A.D. also as the most probable date for the cloister which completed the setting of the group.

The enclosure walls, I hold, were added sometime after the completion of the main buildings and this explains why the walls are not bonded into the buildings[112].

As for the platform in ruins in the centre of the courtyard, which was, in all probability, once a grave, I would first invite the attention of the reader to the red sand-stone slabs with which it was, originally, cased[113]. These slabs are significant; because they are so different from the material used in the mosque. This material should have objection to placing the platform exactly in the same time with the mosque. It would shift it, therefore, a few years later, when red sand-stone slabs were available to the masons for casing. It strikes me from the whole setting of the group that this grave did not belong to the original plan. It was an afterthought and most probably a temporary necessity. It was, in any case, not the central feature round which the adjacent buildings were built. I have

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112. I shall not be surprised if these enclosure walls are the remnants of those said-to-have-been constructed by Islam Shah Sur (1545-1554 A.D.) for enclosing the Bagh-i-Jûd (vide. Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, Asiatic Society of Bengal MS No.100, f.67a). See also Hodivala, p.472.

113. See ante, 66 fn.

I have called its necessity a temporary one because it does not appear to have enjoyed the position of a royal grave permanently. The remains of the person buried seem to have been removed from here which explains the desecrated condition of the platform. But, certainly, the person who was once buried on this particular spot was an important personage. In this connection, I would refer to a very interesting information furnished by the author of the Tarikh-i--Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. "After the death of the Sultan (Sikandar Lodi), he says, "his body was carried to Delhi and near the tomb of his father in the Bagh--i-Jûd, which he himself had built, was buried"[114]. The author also avers and, perhaps, rightly that "the body of Sikandar was first deposited in his garden (Bagh-i-Khud) which Islam Shah afterwards enclosed"[115]. Where, then, could possibly the remains of this greatest of the Lodi Sultans be temporarily deposited? - the question naturally arises. "In this platform in ruins in the courtyard of the Khairpur mosque," - I would suggest. This is only a heap of rubbles now; because it was dismantled while removing the royal remains and after that it was left uncared-for. This is mentioned as 'his garden' (Bagh-i-Khud) which is otherwise mentioned as 'Bagh-i-Jûd'[116]. Just close to it stands the so-called Shish Gunbad which I would identify as the tomb of his father, Buhlul Lodi[117], and very near to it is the tomb of Sikandar Lodi where his remains seem to have been permanently deposited.

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114. Vide. Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, Rampur MS f.80.

115. Hodivala, p.472; cf. Dr. Lee's copy of the Makhzan-i-Afghani, tr. Dorn, pt.ii, p.99. This shows that the body of Sikandar Lodi was first deposited temporarily at some place and afterwards interred elsewhere.

116. Hodivala, p.472.

117. See ante, 69 fn.

Now, that I would propose to fix 1494 A.D. as the date for the completion of the Khairpur mosque and 1502 A.D. for the remaining buildings of the group, the entire construction works fall during the regime of Sikandar Shah Lodi. And since the building works were meant for royal purposes, the natural inference would be that the reigning Sultan was responsible for their construction. But who were Abu Amjad and Mir Jahan[118] whose names are referred to in the inscription of the mosque? Their names appear nowhere in the lists of the nobles of the period[119]. To finance this gigantic scheme of stone works was, evidently, no job for any mean person, like one Abu Amjad or Mir Jahan whose very identity is not known. In the same mosque, however, appears the name of the person who was responsible for the writing of the inscriptions. It is possible that this inscription records the names of the chief architects or supervisors who were charged with the responsibility of the entire construction work of the mosque; and they were, I would suggest, Abu Amjad and Mir Jahan. Who could, then, be responsible for conceiving, financing and patronising this ambitious scheme of construction works on this significant spot between the years 1494 A.D. and 1502 A.D.? - Sikandar Shah Lodi, the reigning Sultan, appears to me to be the inevitable answer.

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118. In the text of the inscription appears clearly the name 'Mir Jahan' just after 'Abu Amjad' (see ante, 37 fn. and 40 fn. and cf. Plates 3c and 3d). But it is not understandable why the name has not been read by any scholar.

119. Cf. Tarikh-Ferishta, vol.i, pp.564-5 and Tarikh-i-Daudi, tr. Elliot and Dowson, vol.iv, pp.471-75.

C h a p t e r IV

2. MOTH-KI-MASJID

Plates

38c
38d
39a

The so-called Moth-ki-Masjid[1] is one of the most significant monuments of the Lodi period. The mosque is situated between the villages of Mubarakpur and Mujahidpur in Delhi and at a distance of about three-fourths of a mile from the Delhi-Qutb road, near the

41e

tomb, ascribed to Mubarak Shah Seyid.[2] The mosque was for sometime occupied by the villagers for residence. They partitioned the prayer chamber at their convenience, covered the walls with mud-plaster and raised

39b
39c

huts in the courtyard at their discretion[3]. All these, however, have by now been cleared out and the mosque is at present in a good order of preservation.

40a
40b

As at present, the mosque stands on a raised platform enclosed by a low wall and entered through a

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1. While Moth-ki-Masjid means 'Mosque of pulse', the name of the mosque may sound rather peculiar. There is an interesting story about how the mosque came to be so called. We shall relate it in course of our discussion on the date and builder of the mosque.

2. See for location the map of Delhi (Plate 1a).

3. J.D. Beglar, as he saw the mosque in the middle of the 19th century, gives the following description of the monument:
"The courtyard and the Masjid are full of huts of inhabitants, the interior of the Masjid being partitioned off by mud-walls to form rooms for the people. The whole place is altogether filthy, and there is some difficulty in obtaining access to the Masjid."
- vide. Ann.Rep., vol.iv, p.67.

41d gateway on the east[4]. The platform is six feet high
41a from the ground[5]. The surface of the basement has
41b blind arched recesses set into rectangular panels to
43a the north, east and south. The western side is provided with five vaulted openings - three corresponding to the central dome and one each to the side ones[6]. The enclosure walls are in a dilapidated condition. The eastern angles of the enclosure are marked by
40b domed Chhatris or small kiosks supported on eight red
41d stone pillars and containing traces of blue tile decoration[7].

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4. No hard and fast rules seem to have been followed with regard to the position of the entrance gateway to a mosque in India. Whereas gateway to the east was rather popular, examples of its otherwise location are also not wanting e.g. the Alai Darwaza stands to the south-east of the Quwatu-'l-Islam mosque (Plate 25c), the mosque of Kotla-i-Firuz Shah has its gateway to the north (Plate 21c), the Begumpur mosque, to the east (Plate 45a) and the Khairpur mosque, to the south (Plate 2c).

   By Khairpur mosque we mean the Jam-i-Masjid of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur (Monument No.1, Chap.III).

5. Stephen, p.166.

6. James Terry would say, "The mosque ... is raised on an arcaded basement and advantage is taken of this to provide some openings in the normally blank western wall." - Terry, p.32.

   It is difficult to agree with this observation of Terry. The basements of the mosques of this period and even earlier ones had arched openings e.g. Jami mosque of Kotla-i-Firuz Shah (Pl.21c), Khirki Masjid (Pl.17c), Khairpur mosque (Pl.19a), Mosque of Nazir-ka-Bagh (Pl.48a), an unnamed mosque at Mehrauli (Pl.49c) and so on.

7. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.174.

'The gateway which is faced with red sand-stone
41a ornamented with marble is somewhat dilapidated and is approached by ascending seven steps of local grey
41b stone'[8]. The basic material is rubble. The gateway
41c was, undoubtedly, once a very imposing structure[9]. Its front side i.e. the eastern side is almost in ruins and its reconstruction is hardly possible. Fortunately for us, the back side i.e. the western side has been to a great extent spared and we have reasons to believe that the front side was once, at least, equally imposing and, more or less, similar
41d in feature. It is square in plan like the gateway attached to the Khairpur mosque. It has, however, doorway openings only on two sides - to the east and correspondingly to the west. The other two sides are closed. Compared to the Bara Gunbad, its scale is much smaller. It is constructed of red sand-stone and white marble has been used for contrast. The structure stands on a square platform, similar as the Bara Gunbad, but here the edge of the plinth has projected so boldly outside the line of the wall that it can be
41d used for sitting purpose. The facade, as it can be reconstructed from the western side, was pierced with a doorway in the middle, - a typical example of lintel and bracket based on corbel, which was gaining popularity about this time[10]. We have noticed almost the same lintel and bracket in the Bara Gunbad. But what is more remarkable here is that the rectangular framework of the doorway dominates the relieving arch above

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8. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.174.

9. Reference may be made to Seyid Ahmad Khan's admiration for the gateway, Athár, pp.85-86.

10. Fanshawe (p.245), has called it 'Hindu arch'. The system is clearly that of lintel and bracket arranged in corbel. It is true that the system traces its origin back to India before the advent of the Moslems; but we cannot call it a true arch.

It is more emphasised, more prominent and more independent. Here the relieving arch has no connection with the base; it springs suddenly from the wall. In
5a the Bara Gunbad, the rectangular frame of the doorway
6a has been accommodated in the network of the arch as a subsidiary feature, whereas in the gateway of the
1d Moth-ki-Masjid, the rectangular frame with lintel and brackets impresses as the principal feature and the relieving arch appears as an aid to it. The tympanum of the arch has a decorative flat niche in the middle, crowned with blind crestings. The face of the arch is composed of alternate red sand-stone and white marble slabs. The red sand-stone slabs have been arranged horizontally and the white marble ones vertically and, thus, have resulted into ribs. A row of three flat niches, set in rectangular frame and arranged vertically, appears on either side of the doorway. Above it is a frieze marked by two projected bands and an
1d embossed lotus. The northern and the southern sides of the gateway bear marble slabs with inscriptions in embossed Naskh character. But these have been reset in course of a later restoration work and 'they have been so much intermixed that it is not possible to make anything out of them'[11]. It is clear, however, that they contain verses from the Qur'án. Seyid Ahmad Khan holds that the gateway, in its original state also, bore marble slabs with Qur'ánic inscriptions[12].
1a The seven steps of local grey stone, mentioned above, take into an arched alcove beyond which is the lintelled doorway. Here the huge slabs of stone, arranged horizontally, are supported by double pillars. The doorway leads into an open courtyard, the Sahn, of the mosque. A part of the courtyard, contiguous with the mosque proper, is paved with local grey stone. "It contains three unknown graves and the central

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11. Ashraf Husain, p.61.
12. Athár, p.85.

feature is the remains of a small building which, according to the local tradition, had been an ancient temple, the materials of which were used in the construction of the Qutb mosque[13].

42c The main building covers the western side of the mosque area. It is constructed of dressed stone. 'The mosque, which stands on a terrace about 6 feet high, is an oblong of 130 feet by 30 feet, its height, from the terrace to the top of the centre dome, is 60 feet'[14].

39 "The facade (of the mosque) has five arched openings, the central one being enclosed by a high and deeply recessed arch of red stone, ornamented with marble and having a small window under its apex."[15] The arches are typically four-centred, pointed ones. Unlike the Khairpur mosque, the central arch of the Moth-ki-Masjid has been recessed twice, whereas the side ones, three times. Repetitions of the arches have been further responded to by the supporting pilasters, which are also gradually recessed in conformity with the arches and the effect is, thus, carried up to the basement. What is more, rows of flat niches, set into rectangular panels and arranged vertically, mark only the central arch in case of the Khairpur mosque; whereas, in the Moth-ki-Masjid, the entire arcade of the facade has been flanked by similar rows of panels between the arches (cf. Pl.3a and Pl.39a). No extra emphasis has been given on the central arch. It is equal in span and rise with the side ones. Three repetitions in the side arches have

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13. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.174; but the author, in his very next sentence, negates the truth of this supposition and says, "... this statement has no support either historically or from the internal evidence in situ."

14. Stephen, p.166.

15. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.174.

given them rather a bigger size than the central one which is repeated only twice, - a system which was almost blindly copied in the Jamali Masjid, Mehrauli (Pl.44c). Emphasis being, thus, distributed to the side arches, the facade as a whole has been brought to prominence. But the convention of stress on the central bay has not been ignored. Even though the central arch itself has been deprived of its usual emphasis, it has been accommodated in a huge blind arch and further set in a rectangular frame of the projected portal of the central bay. The tympanum of the blind arch of the portal has plain linear decoration by means of alternate red sand-stone and white marble slabs. The window-openings in the centre are, perhaps, for receiving light and breaking monotony. It may be noted here that the same window-opening, introduced in the Moth-ki-Masjid, appears exactly in the same position of the Jamali Masjid and of the Qila-i-Kohna Masjid. In fact the ornamentation of the entire facade is different from its predecessor, the Khairpur mosque. The lavish plaster decoration has been discarded here and contrast of red and white has been preferred. But medallions in the spandrels, two for each arch, have been maintained and eaves, about 3 feet 6 inches in elongation[16], continue to shade the side arches. Above the eaves, is a blank frieze and the cornice, with projected horizontal bands, is

16. "A bold eave supported on corbels, and projected about 3 and a half feet from the face of the Masjid, once adorned the entire front of the building; fragments alone now remain," - observes Beglar, vide. Ann.Rep., vol.iv, p.67.

But I find it difficult to agree with the underlined remark of Beglar above. Reference may be made in this connection to plates 39a and 39b. It will appear clear that the mosque, even before conservation, had the original line of the eaves in tact and one can see it that the eaves were intervened by the portal in the middle of the facade.

crowned by blind parapets. The facade has two extra doors at the two ends with staircases leading to the roof. The doorways are comparatively much smaller in rise as well as in span, and a lintel has been used at the spring-line of the arch which has, in fact, no constructional purpose.

40d 'The prayer chamber proper is a rectangular space which measures 124 feet 6 inches x 27 feet'[17]. The

42c interior is divided into five bays, of which the central one and those at the extreme ends are domed. The other two bays have shallow vaulted ceilings and are externally flat on the roof. It may be noted that the transition of the square of the bay below to the circle of the dome above is typically the same as in the Khairpur mosque, - the same strut, corbelled pendentive, rows of small niches lending honey-comb impression appear at the angles. The intrados of the dome is, however, ornamented with fluted flower-petals which, although absent from the Khairpur mosque, was a common feature of the time[18]. 'The ceilings of the side bays are richly ornamented with incised plaster'[19]. Each bay has a niche in the western wall. The central niche, which is the principal Mihrab, is of red sandstone and engraved with Qur'ánic inscriptions. The Mihrab is provided with Minbar or a pulpit which

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17. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.174; Marshall, vide. C.H.I., vol.iii, pp.596-7.

    From the external measurement of the mosque given by Carr Stephen (130 feet x 30 feet) and the internal measurement by Blakiston, it seems that the space covered by the front and the back walls is 5 feet 6 inches and that consumed by the side walls is 3 feet.

18. Cf. The so-called Assembly Hall attached to the Khairpur mosque (Plate 38a), mosque of Yusuf Qattal (Pl.65c), mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi (Plate 62b) etc.

19. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.174.

speaks of the congregational character of the mosque (Plate 42b). The inscriptions are in embossed Naskh letters. Inscriptional decorations may also be found in the three middle-bays. Their contents are the names and attributes of God. Special notice may be taken of the first Moslem creed inscribed in Kufic letters in the second bay. The end bays bear no inscription. Besides inscriptions, rectangular flat recesses on the pilasters break the monotony of the otherwise blank wall. These recesses should be treated as a very typical feature of the time. The side walls are pierced with window-openings, comparatively bigger in size and higher in level, than those in the Khairpur mosque.

The exterior of the side walls has a projected balcony supported by brackets - in the manner of the Khairpur mosque - but, here, it has been placed above the window-opening and not corresponding to it. Its purpose is, therefore, only decorative. The treatment of the rear angles of this monument is a novel feature introduced in mosque architecture. The conventional solid angle towers have been rejected. The rear angle has projected beyond the plinth like a bastion. On this bastion-like basement, stands an imposing double-storeyed octagonal structure at each angle. Each face of the octagon has been pierced with an arched opening supported by piers. The arcades in both the storeys are shaded with eaves on brackets. Whereas the lower storey keeps harmony with the window-opening in the side wall, the upper storey responds to the balcony above. The tower is crowned with horizontal masonry bands and blind parapets which run around the main structure. The staircase of each side, which we have mentioned aobve, leads to the upper storey of the tower and also to the hanging balconies. It may be observed here that the Jamali Masjid at Mehrauli, Delhi (Plates 43d, 44a and c) was the next monument

to continue these pierced angle-towers introduced by Moth-ki-Masjid. But there the towers are rather slender and the openings are not so prominent as in case of the Moth. The feature was, however, more successfully copied and, I should say, further developed by Sher Shah's mosque in the Purana Qila, Delhi (Plates 44d and e). Here the towers are three-storeyed. The process was further developed in the ambitious multi-storeyed towers of the famous Gol Gunbad at Bijapur (Plate 44f)[20]. I would suggest that in absence of any minaret attached to the mosque, these imposing angle-towers were used for call to prayer[21].

The staircases, further winding through the back-wall, give access to the roof of the mosque. The roof, we have observed, has three domes corresponding to the central and the side bays. The slightly stilted crusts of the domes are placed on octagonal drums crowned by projected bands of masonry and geometric patterns. Extra emphasis has been given on the central dome to make it comparatively more prominent. It has been pushed towards the front
39b so much so that seen from the courtyard, it may be
39c mistaken for the dome of the portal rather than of the nave. The domes were once crowned with lotus finials, only their bases having been spared[22].

40a The back wall of the mosque is marked by the above-mentioned angle-towers at the two ends. The
40b plinth, it may be noted, is not in a straight line.
40c It has been flanked by rectangular projections cor-

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20. Lat. 16° 46′N. lang. 75° 47′E.

21. No mosque of the period seems to have been provided with an extra minaret for calling the 'faithful' to prayer.

22. Carr Stephen was not impressed by the domes of the mosque. "The domes are neither large nor graceful." - he says, Stephen, p.167.

responding to the central and the side bays. While the central projection has three arched openings, the side ones have one each. We have noted the same
23c arched openings in the Khairpur mosque. The plinth is marked by horizontal bands of projections with dentils. A second horizontal band with blind parapets crowns the cornice. Unlike the Khairpur mosque, the back wall of the Moth-ki-Masjid is not covered with thick layer of plaster; here the surface is cased with dressed stone and left bare. The wall is vertical. The central projection outside the rear wall, which accommodates the principal Mihrab, has
19a two solid towers at the angles and they resemble so
19b closely those of the Khairpur mosque. 'The Kanguras on the western facade are ornamented with circular discs of lime plaster, some of which bear floral decoration while the others are inscribed with the name of God'[23]. In spite of the fact that the back wall of the mosque is almost devoid of ornamentation, the total effect is very pleasing, simplicity being the secret of its beauty[24].

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23. Ashraf Husain, p.61. John Terry clarifies the term Kangura as 'battlement-like cresting at the top of a wall. A feature of eastern fortification from the Babylonian period, they are possibly the origin of the European mediaeval merlon' - Terry, p.24.

24. "... the back wall of the mosque, with its open flanking towers, is extremely effective." - so has Fanshawe admired it.
Fanshawe, p.245.

The date and the builder

The Moth-ki-Masjid bears no historical inscription from which we could possibly ascertain its date or identify the builder. Its non-historical inscriptions do not help the purpose. Historians and chroniclers of the medieval period are also silent on the point. At the fag end of the seventeenth century, for the first time, appears an interesting story in Persian about the foundation of Moth-ki-Masjid in the Khulasatu-'t-Tawarikh[25] of Sujan Rai Bhandari of Batala.[26] Following is the English rendering of the story given by J.F. Blakiston[27] :

"One day Sultan Sikandar saw a grain of Moth in the Jami mosque which he held up and handed over to his wise and sagacious minister Mian Bhoiya (Ferishta, part i, p.191, has Bhura) who made an obeisance and took it. The minister thought that as the grain had had the honour of being touched by the emperor, he should so arrange as to give it an everlasting fame. He accordingly sowed it in the orchard attached to his house, and the plant which grew from it yielded more than 200 grains. They were multiplied continuously by the practice for several years, until from their produce he acquired a large sum of

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25. "The Khulasatu-'t-Tawarikh was written in the 40th year of the reign of Aurangzeb, corresponding to 1107 A.H. (1695-6 A.D.), and the author spent some two years in its completion." - Introduction to the copy of the Khulasat edited by M. Zafar Hasan, (Delhi, 1918), p.v. For the manuscript of the story reference may be made to the Persian text edited by Zafar Hasan, pp.273-276.

26. Batala 'is a large town in an open plain about 26 miles from Amritsar, Panjab. Lat. 31°48′N. long. 75°6′E' - Hamilton, vol.i, p.495.

27. Blakiston, vol.iii, pp.174-75.

money which he spent in building an imposing mosque in the city of Delhi. He informed the emperor of the erection of the mosque and the story of the grain of moth and the mosque was thereafter known as Moth--ki-Masjid."

All the later scholars dealing with the mosque relate, more or less, the same story in regard to the name and foundation of the mosque. But none of them mentions the Khulasatu-'t-Tawarikh as their source. Almost all of them refer to hearsay or popular tradition. As per Seyid Ahmad Khan's version, 'it is said that a king picked up a seed of moth while walking on the road and sowed it. Every year increased it and proceeds multiplied. With funds out of that he constructed the mosque. That is why it is called 'The Mosque of a Moth'.[28] It is surprising that even though Seyid Ahmad Khan has referred to have used the Khulasatu-'t-Tawarikh for his Atharu--'s-Sanadid,[29] he does not mention the Khulasat as the source of this story. He seems to have gathered it from hearsay and he does not appear at all to have come across the name of Sikandar Lodi in connection with the story or with the mosque. He could not even approach the proximity of its date and builder[30]. J.D. Beglar's narration is rather different. According to him, "... tradition says, (the Moth-ki-Masjid) was built by a poor cultivator, who had acquired riches by trading in the pulse called Moth."[31]

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28. Athár, p.86.

29. "The Khulasatu-'t-Tawarikh was first brought to my notice by its reference in Asar-us-Sanadid, the well-known book of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan on the Archaeology of Delhi." - Zafar Hasan edited The Khulasatu-'t-Tawarikh, Introduction, p. i.

30. See Athár, p.86.

31. vide. Ann.Rep., vol. iv, p.67.

Stephen Carr follows his suit.[32] This story of so grand a monument like the Moth-ki-Masjid having been built by a poor cultivator trading in pulse sounds rather improbable.

I do not mean here to over-emphasise the above story. But, certainly, it cannot be at once rejected as fantastic. If a corn of pulse is sowed and the resultant seeds are sowed again and the process is continued for a number of years, say, ten or twelve years, and the proceeds are allowed to multiply, it is possible to amass billions of tons of pulse which would be sufficient for undertaking the construction of a mosque like that of Moth. The very name of the monument, Moth-ki-Masjid or 'Mosque of Pulse', suggests something that fits in with the story. There is, however, scope for argument that the story was a later invention and that it is a posthumous name that the mosque bears. Let us leave aside hypothesis and consider some interesting points that emerge out of this story. First, even when we are not prepared to accept the genuineness of this story, we have, at least, to agree that the seventeenth century knowledge or belief that the Moth-ki-Masjid was built during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Shah Lodi is, in all probability, the basis of this story. Whereas any scientific archaeological study of this monument at the time when this story was related would be abortive, at least, by some two hundred and fifty years,[33] its architectural features coincide exactly with those of the Lodis and speak in favour of the story. Secondly

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32. Stephen, p.166. It is curious to note that although Carr Stephen bases his book mainly on Seyid Ahmad's Athár, his narration of this story is different from Seyid Ahmad's.

33. No scientific archaeological study of the Indian monuments may be claimed to have started before the middle of the nineteenth century.

Sikandar Lodi is related to have found the grain of pulse in the Jami Masjid. I do not know if there can be any understandable objection to identifying the Jami Masjid of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur (Monument No.1)' as the same Jami Masjid where the Sultan found the grain of moth. If the story of moth has at all any substance of truth, it shows clearly that the grain was found at a time when the Jami Masjid of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur had already been in use, and that the very foundation of Moth--ki-Masjid would take quite a few years after the completion of the Khairpur mosque. Now, in fact, the architectural features of Moth-ki-Masjid are more developed than those of the Khairpur mosque. Whereas pre-Lodi elements still dominate the Khairpur mosque, Moth-ki-Masjid is almost free of them. What I mean to deduce out of it is that the story places the Moth-ki-Masjid sometime after the Jami Masjid of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur and there can be absolutely no understandable architectural objection to it. Thirdly, according to the story, Mian Bhoiya, the Prime Minister of Sikandar Lodi was the builder of Moth-ki-Masjid. We shall eventually see that there seems to be no other person responsible for the construction of Moth-ki-Masjid than Mian Bhoiya, the wise and able Prime Minister of Sikandar Shah Lodi.

As for the available literature on Moth-ki--Masjid, the scholars do not appear to have been unanimous on its dating. "People place it in Shah Jahan's time. But I do not understand it, because the architecture seems to be of the Pathan period." - wonders Seyid Ahmad Khan (1847 A.D.) but he does not draw any conclusion.[34] "It is of the period of the

34. Athár, p.86. It is an impossible proposition to place Moth-ki-Masjid as late as the days of Shah Jahan (1626-1658 A.D.).

Lodis" - is all that J.D. Beglar (1874 A.D.) would say about its date[35]. Carr Stephen (1876) seems to be the first scholar to give a definite date to this monument. According to him, the mosque 'was built .... in the reign of Sikandar Shah Lodi, and in the year A.H./1488 A.D.'[36] But what is most interesting and important to note is that the author mentions to have found an inscription ascribing this mosque to the time of Sikandar Lodi. "A large well," he says, "was also sunk close to the mosque, and an inscription was put in it on red sand-stone, which has suffered much from efflorescence and of which the following is a translation in English:

> (This) mosque in the reign of ... Majesty ... Sultan (like) Solomon,
> (Si)kandar Shah, son of Bahlol Shah Lodi, may God perpetuate his reign .....
> (Si)kandar ....." [37]

This inscription noticed by Carr Stephen seems to refer clearly to the Moth-ki-Masjid. The monument has got, therefore, to be placed during the regime of Sikandar Lodi. Carr Stephen, however, does not clarify how he arrived at the definite date 894 A.H./1488 A.D. for the mosque. At least the inscription, mentioned by him, does not record any date whatsoever.

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35. vide. Ann.Rep., p.67.

36. The Archaeological and Monumental Remains of Delhi, p.245.

37. It is rather surprising that this inscription should have escaped notice of all other scholars who have dealt on the archaeology of Delhi.

It seems probable that since, according to the inscription, the mosque belonged to the time of Sikandar, he took the liberty to fix 1488 A.D., the date of the Sultan's accession, as the approximate date for the monument. Fanshawe (1902) also fixed the same date, 1488 A.D. for the mosque[38]. He does not give any authority for his dating; but he seems to have gone by the date of Carr Stephen. In the Government of India records also Moth-ki-Masjid appears with the date 1488 A.D.[39] Chas. Rodgers (1891),[40] J.F. Blakiston (1919)[41], H. Sharp (1921)[42], J. Marshall (1928)[43], Ashraf Husain (1936)[44], - all place the mosque during Sikandar Lodi's time but none of them fixes any definite date for it. At length, Percy Brown (1942) proposes to place the Moth-ki-Masjid 'about ten years later than the Bara Gunbad i.e. the Khairpur mosque[45]. John Terry (1955) fixes, most possibly after Percy Brown's suggestions, circa. 1505 A.D. as the date for Moth-ki-Masjid[46].

To speak from architectural point of view, Moth--ki-Masjid cannot be placed before the Khairpur mosque. In fact, the former appears to be an improve-

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38. Fanshawe, p.245.

39. Ann.Pr.Rep., Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1908, p.18; see also Ann.Rep., 1902-3, p.77.

40. Rodgers, Revised, p.89.

41. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.174.

42. Sharp, p.74.

43. C.H.I., vol.iii, pp.596-97.

44. Ashraf Husain, p.60.

45. Brown, p.29.

46. Terry, p.31.

ment upon the latter. Here, the architect seems to have had the experiences of Khairpur. He has, of course, adopted for the Moth many features of the Khairpur mosque; but that he has done not blindly. He has tried the features of Khairpur altogether in a new setting. It is not only that. The architect of Moth-ki-Masjid had a bold and inquisitive bent of mind. With this monument, he has made new architectural experiments. The new features introduced here are not to be seen in any mosque of India up to the end of the fifteenth century. The high plinth or platform of the Tughlaq mosques seems to have been disapproved by the Lodis. It was lowered in the Khairpur mosque (10 feet) and it was lowered still in the Moth (6 feet). The number of vaulted openings in the platform to the back side have been reduced in the Moth-ki-Masjid and they have been better arranged. The other three sides of the platform had so long been blank; the Moth took a step forward and divided the surface into blind arched panels. This feature was continued in Indo-Islamic architecture, in mosques as well as tombs, down to the nineteenth century (Plates 45b and c). The eastern angles of the courtyard came to be adorned for the first time with kiosks, which subsequently grew into lofty towers in the Mughal mosques. After a lapse of about two hundred years since the construction of the Ala-i-Darwaza, contrast of red and white was again employed in the gateway of the mosque. White marble was used, perhaps, for the first time on the facade of a mosque alongside red and yellow sand-stone and grey granite. This technique of contrast became, eventually, very popular with the Mughal monuments e.g. the tombs of Humayun, Atgah Khan, Akbar and Jahangir. Moth-ki-Masjid rejected the thick plaster decoration of the Khairpur mosque and it was never revived in Indian architecture. The architect

of the Moth does not appear to have liked even the setting of the facade of the Khairpur mosque. For the Moth, he has taken the entire facade as one unit and brought it as a whole into prominence. He found the window-openings of the Khairpur mosque rather too small and the outside balconies obstructing light. He has, therefore, taken much bigger window-openings for the Moth and pushed the hanging balconies above the window-level. Thus once pushed high, these balconies did never come down. They continued to remain hanging in almost the same position and level in the mosque of Jamali (Plates 44a and c) and that of Qila-i-Kohna (Plates 44d and e). The result of this method was more light for the interior. The architect of Moth-ki-Masjid has made the Qibla wall simpler by avoiding the three arched complex as in the Khairpur mosque. He has not employed the corbelled pendentives for the central dome. Instead, he has gone back to the squinch (Plate 43a) and maintained corbelled pendentives for the shallow vaults for the side bays (Plate 43b). The use of squinch and pendentive also became a popular feature subsequently. The Khairpur mosque seems to be the last monument to continue the conventional solid, tapering towers at the angles of the back wall and Moth-ki-Masjid appears to be the first to reject it. The feature was never revived again. Last, but not the least, is the definitely better spacing of the domes of Moth-ki-Masjid. At Khairpur, the three domes appear rather too closely arranged; here, the shallow vaults are placed in between the domes. The result is a very happy one. The domes do not make a crowd any more. They are much better spaced now and this happy arrangement of the domes, we may note,

became a permanent feature with the Mughal mosques[47].

In the light of the above discussion, I would propose to place the Moth-ki-Masjid quite a few years later than the Khairpur mosque; and since the date of the Khairpur mosque, as I have argued already, is 1494 A.D., I am afraid, I cannot accept the dating of the mosque for 1488 A.D. by scholars like Carr Stephen and Rodgers and by the Department of Archaeological Survey of India. There is not much to argue against the approximate dating of the mosque for 1505 A.D. But while trying to approach its nearest possible date, use of not insufficient amount of white marble and red and yellow sandstone of rather good quality makes me somewhat diffident in placing the mosque during the year 1505 A.D. In 1505, the capital was removed from Delhi to Agra after a preparation of ten years[48]. In 1505, again, a most terrible earthquake took place in Northern India[49]. Somehow, the circumstances of the year 1505 A.D. do not impress me as favourable for the construction of so beautiful a piece of architecture as the Moth-ki-

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47. While comparing Moth-ki-Masjid with the Khairpur mosque, we should not forget that whereas the former was constructed mainly and independently as a mosque, the latter was more a subsidiary structure to the garden with tombs and the gateway.

48. Makhzan-i-Afghani, pp.61-62.

49. "It was, in fact, so terrible that mountains were overturned, and all lofty edifices dashed to the ground: the living thought the day of judgement was come; and the dead, the day of resurrection. Never since the time of Adam up to the present day, had such a violent earthquake taken place ....." - Makhzan-i-Afghani, p.62; see also Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, p.579; Tarikh-i-Daudi, tr. Elliot and Dowson, vol.iv, pp.465-6 and Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, tr. Elliot and Dowson, vol.v, pp.99-100.

-Masjid. The creation of it would require more undisturbed an atmosphere. What is more, red and yellow sand-stone and also white marble are available in the vicinity of Agra in abundance. In the Lodi monuments before the Moth-ki-Masjid, red sand-stone has been used but very limitedly. Yellow sand-stone has not at all been used nor white marble. In the Moth-ki-Masjid, good quality of red and yellow sand-stone has been freely used and not only for decoration but also for casing. Marble slabs, most of which have been carried away by vanadals, had also been used rather freely. The reason of this, I would suggest, was possibly the shifting of the capital to Agra which inspired and made possible the free use of these materials. For these reasons, I should think, the Moth-ki-Masjid was founded sometime after the removal of the capital to Agra in 1505 A.D., its completion having taken, naturally, a few years more.

Now, from 1505 A.D. onwards till his death in 1517 A.D., Sultan Sikandar Lodi was continuously busy leading external expeditions and checking internal rebellions.[50] His personal circumstances do not appear to have been in favour of undertaking the construction work of a mosque like that of Moth at Delhi. But it was no job of a mean person to build this monument. The man responsible for the construction of this mosque had the creative vision of a genius; he had the required ability and also the resources. Who, then, could be the builder if Sikandar Lodi himself was not?

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50. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, pp.579-585; Makhzan-i-Afghani, pp.62-65; Tarikh-i-Daudi, tr. Elliot and Dowson, vol.iv, pp.465-468; Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, tr. Elliot and Dowson, vol.v, pp.98-104.

Could the Mian Bhoiya of the story be possibly the builder of Moth-ki-Masjid? Now, this Mian Bhoiya (also written Shaikh Bhuwa, Miyan Bhowa, Mian Bhura, Mian Bhudh, Mian Bhua and Mian Boa) was, in fact, holding the post of Wakil-i-Mutlaq and alter ego of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. His position was even higher than that of the prime minister. "He was the viceregent; the deputy of the sovereign himself and all the powers of the Sultan were, for the time, delegated to him.'[51] He was 'the most powerful and independent grandee of the empire and absolute minister of Sultan Sikandar'[52] and he enjoyed the trust and confidence of the Sultan till the last day of his life and reign for a period of twenty-eight years. He had the power to appoint the Wazir and other ministers and also remove them from office, at his discretion.[53] Mian Bhoiya was equally famous for his devotion and efficiency, wisdom[54]

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51. Hodivala, p.469.

52. Ahmad Yádgár, Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana, (a work completed sometime between 1001-2 A.H./ 1592-3 A.D. and 1020 A.H./1611 A.D.), Eng.tr. Elliot and Dowson, vol.v, (London, 1873), pp.13-14.

53. Cf. Muntakhabu-'l-Lubab, Eng. tr. Elliot and Dowson, vol. vii, pp.401-2.

54. Mian Bhoiya was the author of the famous book on Medicine, Tibb-i-Sikandari, otherwise known as 'Maadanu-'s-Shafa' (compiled from several Sanskrit sources and completed in 918 A.H./ 1512 A.D.), a work which the author of the Wakiat-i-Mushtaki admires as, 'there is no work of greater authority in India'. - Elliot and Dowson, vol.iv, p.451 fn. 'Miyan Bhowa, the powerful and scholarly Wazir of Sikandar Lodi, was the author of Maadan-us-Shafa, a voluminous book on medicine, based on the standard work of ancient Hindu physicians like Charak Susruta and many others. The cataloguer of Rampur library says that he died in 925 A.H. (= 1519-20 A.D.) but Mr.Yasin Niazi writes in Oriental Magazine, Lahore, that he lived in prison for 2 years some months.' - Askari, S.H., Bihar in the time of the last two Lodi Sultans of Delhi, vide. J.B. R.S., No.41, (Patna, 1955), p.369, 3 fn.

and charity[55]. What I mean to drive at is that should Sultan Sikandar Lodi have presented, perhaps out of fun, a grain of pulse to this his trustworthy and sagacious minister in a mosque, the grand idea of building a beautiful mosque out of this trifling, but royal, gift would be quite in keeping with the vision and personality of Mian Bhoiya and such an idea would not be difficult for him to materialise. The Moth-ki-Masjid is one of the few most beautiful specimens of mosque architecture ever raised in India before the days of the Mughals. It has novelty of ideas in plan and material, ornamentation and overall treatment. A forceful, creative mind seems to have worked behind this building; and this, I would point out, was no other person than Mian Bhoiya, the man next in importance only to the king during the regime of Sikandar Lodi. In fact, during the time of the Lodis and, specially, that of Sikandar, the nobles seem to have taken the greatest interest ever in India in raising architectural monuments, specially, mosques and tombs, and apart from the story, Moth-ki-Masjid would be the befitting monument for the foremost of all the nobles of the day, Mian Bhoiya. I would, therefore, identify Mian Bhoiya as the builder of the Moth-ki-Masjid. Now that Miyan Bhoiya compiled his book on Medicine, the 'Tibb-i-Sikandari' in the year 918 A.H. = 1512 A.D. and that he appears to have been in the apex of his powers about the years 1510-12 A.D., I am in favour of fixing 1512 A.D. as probable date for his mosque, the Moth-ki-Masjid.

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55. "The noble (i.e. Mian Bhoiya, cf. Hodivala,p.469) who had the general direction of affairs in the reign of Sikandar bestowed districts and charitable gifts upon the learned and religious to an extent that had never been known in former reigns ...." - Tarikh-i-Daudi, tr.Elliot and Dowson, vol.iv, p.450.

Chapter V

3. NILI MASJID

Plates

45d The Nili Masjid is situated some 200 yards to the north of the Kharera village, near Qutb, Delhi, to the east of the Delhi-Qutb road. While 'Nili Masjid' literally means 'Blue Mosque', the monument appears to have derived its name from the blue tiles used in it. The basic material is rubble, cased with irregular blocks of granite stone. The surface had
45e originally a coat of plaster only fragments of which survive today.

This little mosque, measuring only 52 feet x 33 feet EM[1], has, in front of it, a still smaller courtyard which measures 'some 52 feet by 22 feet'[2]. The entire structure, the mosque as well as the courtyard, is raised on a low platform, the eastern angles of which have bastion-like round projections. It is remarkable that the plinth of the Nili Masjid is not pierced with arched openings in the manner of the Jam-i-Masjid of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur (Plates 19 and 20) or of the Moth-ki-Masjid near Mubarakpur (Plate 40a, b, c). Perhaps, the plinth was considered to be too low for such vaulted openings (Plates 45d, 45e and 46a). What is more interesting to note is that the eastern angles of the plinth have bastion-like round projections (Plates 45d, e). I do not think that these projections were higher than the level of the enclosing parapets of the courtyard. But nevertheless the feature is new. It was continued in the mosque of Bagh-i-Nazir (Plate 48a) and there it was

1. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.161.
2. Ibid.

provided with a small kiosk. And in the Moth-ki--Masjid all the four angles have such projections (Plate 42c). The whole platform is crowned with a row of blind parapets which serves as an enclosure for the courtyard and, at the same time, continues to encircle the main structure.[3] Such low parapets enclosing the courtyard of a mosque is not an uncommon feature with Lodi architecture. Moth-ki-Masjid (No.2) and also Mandhi Masjid (No.4) are instances in point. In view of the fact that the mosque itself is rather small in scale and the courtyard is still smaller, I would suggest that the courtyard was not purposely enclosed by a high wall, for, in that case, the principal structure would be hidden behind the walls, ventilation would be affected and the whole architecture would lend a crowded view.

45d 45e The eastern facade of the mosque is pierced with three arched openings recessed into rectangular panels. The architect seems to have preferred three arched openings to five due to the small scale of the mosque. But at the same time it has to be pointed out

3. "It (the courtyard of the mosque) was originally surrounded by an enclosure wall, traces of which still remain." - says Blakiston, ibid. But I do not think that the mosque had ever had an enclosure which can be called a wall, higher than the surviving blind parapets. In support of my opinion, I would put forward the following arguments: first, the enclosing row of blind parapets does not show any sign of higher elevation; secondly, the row runs continuously in the same level around the mosque; thirdly, the surface of the eastern wall of the mosque into which the supposed enclosure walls should normally have been bonded, speaks against Blakiston's contentions and, above all, low parapets, and not walls, were not an uncommon feature with Lodi mosque architecture.

that three arched openings for the facade was a feature almost always adopted for Lodi mosques of comparatively small scale e.g. mosques of Basti (Plate 56a), of Daulat Khan Lodi (Plates 61a and 62b), Lál Masjid (Plate 54a). The arches are four-centred drop ones and are equal in size. They are all repeated twice and are very similar in shape with those of the Khairpur mosque. It may also be observed here that the arches of this mosque spring, in the manner of those of the Khairpur mosque, from double piers, whereas the arches of the Moth-ki-Masjid are supported by massive single piers. The central arch is accommodated in an impressive portal which projects beyond the line of the front wall and rises above the roof level. The portal has typical Lodi arched niches but this time only two on each side. The central arch is responded to by a blind arch above, the tympanum of which bears a marble slab with Arabic inscription of historical importance (Plate 46d). The inscription consists of five lines and the marble slab measures 3 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 9 inches. The text reads as follows :

اتفق بنا هذا المسجد المتين بعهد سلطان السلاطين ظل الله في الارضين
المتوكل على الرحمن سكندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و
وسلطانه واظهر كل الحجة و برهانه بعمل و شمرداري خان
اعظم مسند علي خواصخان دام عليا بانيه عمارة المذكوره
ضعيفه نحيفه الراجي الرحمة الله المنان كستبهيل دايه
خان زاده معظم و مكرم ميان فتحخان بن خواصخان الثاني
من ماه ربيع الاول سنه احدى عشر و تسعمايه باندكه هر
كه درين مسجد درايد براي عبادت بدعاء سلامتي
ايمان بانيه مذكور و خيريت فتحخان يا دارد الله عالم
السموات كاتب حروف برخوردار - كمال احمد خان *

And following is the English translation of it given by J.F. Blakiston :

"In the name of God who is merciful and clement. This strong mosque was built during the reign of the king of kings, the shadow of God on both the worlds, who has trust in God, (named) Sikandar Shah, son of Bahlol Shah the king, may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign, and always make bright his demonstrations, under the supervision and during the governorship of Khan Azam Masnadi Ali Khan, may he ever be great. The foundress of the aforesaid building (is) the weak, the infirm and the expectant of compassion from the beneficent God (named) Kusunbhil, the nurse of the generous and the great Khanzada Mian Fath Khan, son of Khawas Khan, on the second month of Rabia I, the year 911. Any one coming to this mosque for worship should pray for the faith of the said foundress and for the welfare of Fath Khan in both the worlds. God knows (the secrets of the) heavens. The scribe of these letters (is) the fortunate ..... Kamal Ahmad Khan."[4]

The spandrel of this blind arch has two embossed medallions inscribed with the name of God (Plate 45d). The portal is crowned with Kanguras or blind parapets, also inscribed with the word 'Allah'. Behind the parapets and at the two ends, there are two solid Guldastas or turrets. On either side of the portal, above the side arches, is an eave supported by short brackets along the eastern wall. Above the Chhancha or eaves runs a row of blue tiles surmounted by two incised plaster bands, one consisting of a Quranic inscription[5] and the other of floral designs. The cornice is marked by a band of masonry crowned with blind parapets around the

4. Cf. reading of Zafar Hasan, pp.5-6; see Plate 46c for facsimile published by him.

5. Refer Ashraf Husain, pp.62-63, for the Quranic and non-historical inscriptions of the monument.

roof. At each angle of the roof is a solid turret.

The prayer chamber is divided into three bays (Plate 47a). The central bay is domed over, while the side ones are roofed internally with shallow domes and filled up externally into a flat roof (Plate 47b). The dome is supported by pendentives bearing the same small niches which we have noticed in the Khairpur mosque and also in the Moth-ki-Masjid. The Mihrab or the altar is ornamented with Quranic inscriptions incised in plaster. The side bays have also in the Qibla wall niches or decorative Mihrabs in response to the main altar. There is no Minbar (Plate 46b).

The side walls, i.e. the northern and the southern walls are each pierced with a rectangular window-opening in the manner of the Khairpur mosque and the Moth, but here there is no hanging balcony to be seen (Plate 46a). The back wall i.e. the western wall bears two round, solid towers at the two ends and two more at the two angles of the projected nave corresponding to the central Mihrab. All the towers rise above the roof corresponding to the four turrets of the eastern facade.

Above the roof, in the centre, is the dome of the mosque which rises from an octagonal drum, boldly elevated (Plate 45d). The drum is also crowned with Kanguras and with a Guldasta at each angle of the octagon (Plate 45e). A remarkable symmetry may, thus, be observed in the blind parapets enclosing the courtyard, encircling the mosque at the plinth level, crowning the cornice and the portal and, finally, around the drum of the dome (Plate 46a). Close harmony may also be noticed in the Guldasta or turrets at the four angles of the roof, at the middle of the eastern and western sides and, then, at the angles of the drum of the dome. The effect is singular. Unfortunately, the finial of the dome does not survive today. Otherwise, an ascending effect to the finial or, one may say, a descending effect

therefrom, through these turrets and parapets would have been still more obvious. The crust of the dome, it may be noticed, has not been as sharply elevated as in case of the other Lodi monuments. The architect of the Nili Masjid seems not to have liked the stilted elevation of the extrados of the dome but he was not for a low dome either. He was, therefore, satisfied with only raising the drum of the dome and getting the required result. He would not also expose the drum to the courtyard. It is hidden behind the elevation of the portal, only the extrados of the dome and the once existing finial being visible from the courtyard.

The date and the builder :

We have already noticed that the mosque bears a historical inscription recording its date as the 2nd of Rabia-'l-Awwal, 911 A.H., which is equivalent to the 3rd of August, 1505-06 A.D. It was during the regime of Sikandar Shah Lodi, while Khan-i-Azam Masnadi Ali Khawas Khan was the governor of Delhi. The builder of the mosque was a lady, named Kusunbhil, the nurse of Khanzada Mian Fath Khan, son of Khawas Khan, the governor. The inscription records also the name of the scribe, Kamal Ahmad Khan by name. Khanzada Mian Fath Khan, the master or the patron of the builder, was the same person under whose superintendence the repair works of the Qutb Minar and the Ala-i-Darwaza, Delhi, had been carried on during the regime of Sultan Sikandar Shah Lodi in the year 909 A.H. = 1503 A.D.[6]

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6. Cf. Horovitz, p.32.
Zafar Hasan, p.5.
Refer Zafar Hasan, pp.5-6, for a brief history of Khawas Khan as governor of Delhi.

The Nili Masjid was, therefore, constructed some ten years after the Khairpur mosque. It is much smaller in scale than the latter and much less ambitious in projects, specially in ornamentation. The reasons may be twofold. First, it does not seem to have been meant for a purely congregational mosque. In this connection, I would like to invite the attention of the reader to a terrace with cells some 50 yards west of the mosque and a platform containing a number of graves at a distance of another 15 yards. We do not know about the burial places of the foundress of the mosque, Kusunbhil, nor of her master, Khanzada Mian Fath Khan, who might have financed or, at least, subsidised towards the cost of the building. For both of them, however, the inscription appeals for prayer. I shall not be surprised if the central terrace had been the tomb of Fath Khan and if Kusunbhil also lies buried in the above-mentioned graveyard. This arrangement of a mosque, tomb and a cemetery, by the way, reminds me of the Jam-i-Masjid of Ahmadabad, the tomb of Ahmad Shah and the graveyard for the women of the royal family a few yards further off, the monuments belonging to the first half of the fifteenth century. Being thus, less congregational in character, its scale and ornamentation were all limited. Secondly, it lacked the resources of a king and that also explains its limited scale and less ambitious schemes. But with all its limitations, the Nili Masjid is architecturally more developed than the Jam-i-Masjid of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur. It is true that four-centred drop arches supported by double pillars and rows of eaves and brackets flanked by a portal in the middle of the eastern facade are features which already appear in the Khairpur mosque. But the two monuments are remarkably different. The Khairpur mosque, in its original state, was hidden from the eye behind the high enclosure walls; the architect of the Nili Masjid lowered the enclosure

and exposed the mosque. He did not over-emphasise the central arch by multi-repititions of the segments. All the three arches here are recessed only twice which has resulted in distribution of emphasis on the entire facade. The central arch has been accommodated in the framework of a huge blind arch of the portal. The window-openings of the side walls have been enlarged, perhaps, for receiving more light and air and the balconies have been dropped. The side bays of the Nili Masjid have, like those of the Khairpur mosque, also no domes externally; but instead of the rectangular vaults of the Khairpur mosque, the Nili Masjid has shallow domes filled-up externally. The approach of the architect of the Nili Masjid is basically different from that of his counterpart of the Khairpur mosque. He seems to be more anxious to produce beauty of architecture through form rather than minute details of surface decoration. Introduction of butress-like projections at the angles of the courtyard, of rows of kanguras and of guldastas, treatment of the portal and rejection of lavish decoration on plaster - all speak of this his anxiety. And, we must say, he got his expected result.

It is surprising to note that almost the same problems seem to have disturbed the architect of the Moth-ki-Masjid and he has tackled them with greater success. Perhaps, he had profited by the experiences of Nili Masjid and, also perhaps, greater resources were placed at his disposal. His scheme is ambitious and scale is large. He has taken a big open courtyard and freed the mosque from conjestion. He seems to have been impressed by the bastion-like projections at the eastern angles of the courtyard of the Nili Masjid. He has, therefore, adopted them for his mosque also and has provided each with a cupola supported by slender columns. But in disapproval of the conventional solid tapering towers at the rear angles, he has taken to hollow towers, and has pierced them with arched openings.

He has further distributed the emphasis on the side arches by repeating them four times but the central arch only twice. He has discarded the use of double-piers for the arches and he has deepened the curve of the arches. The drop is no more there. He reverted to the five arch system of the Khairpur mosque but not to the unequal span of the arches. In dividing the facade into equal arched openings, he followed the example of the Nili Masjid, even though, due to larger scale, he could take to five arched openings instead of three. The architect of the Moth seems to have appreciated the idea of enlarging the side windows and freeing them from the hanging balconies; but, at the same time, he appeared to have liked the hanging balconies also. His window-openings are, therefore, large and have balconies corresponding to them. Here the balconies hang above the window level. The bays without domes in case of the Moth-ki-Masjid have similar shallow domes in the interior as in case of the Nili Masjid. And, above all, the architect of the Moth-ki-Masjid seems to have had greater advantage of materials than the architect of the Nili Masjid.

By way of the above discussion, I would propose to place the Nili Masjid in the order of chronology somewhere before the Moth-ki-Masjid and not after it as it is usually done.

Chapter VI

4. MANDHI MASJID

A mosque with very interesting features is to be found towards the south of Bagh-i-Nazir[1] in the locality of Mehrauli, Delhi. The monument is constructed of rubble and plaster and it is locally known as Mandhi Masjid (Pl.48a)[2]. It is in a very good order of preservation. No literature on this monument is available. The only mention which I have come across is by Maulvi Ashraf Husain in the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No.47 where the author deals casually on this monument in course of his studies on the epigraphy of Delhi[3]. "Its history is obscure but the style of its architecture is early Mughal," holds Maulvi Ashraf Husain. In the absence of any historical inscription and also of any literature, Maulvi Ashraf Husain rightly observes that no clear history of this building has come down to us. But the latter part of the statement should be carefully examined. We shall deal on the point as we describe the monument.

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1. Also called 'Nasir ka Bagh' or 'Nazir ka Bagh'.

2. 'Mandhiwali Masjid' according to Ashraf Husain, see Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No.47, p.91. See Pl.54d for location of Nazar-ka-Bagh.

   How this monument came to be known as 'Mandhi' or 'Mandhiwali' Masjid is difficult to trace. The word 'Mandhi' in the Punjabi language means 'a market place'. It is possible that there was once an important market in the locality of this monument from which it came to be known as 'Mandhi Masjid' or 'Market Mosque'.

3. See Ashraf Husain, pp. 91-92.

The monument consists of a prayer-place, an open courtyard and an imposing gateway. The group is raised on a quadrangular platform[4]. Each face of the platform is pierced with arched openings set into rectangular panels and the angles have solid towers, semi-octagonal in shape (Pl.48a). The entire platform is crowned with low parapets; and corresponding to the semi-octagonal towers of the plinth, the eastern angles are marked by small canopied kiosks, that towards the south-east having fallen down. It may be recalled here that these kiosks are very similar in style and arrangement to those of the Moth-ki-Masjid. We may also note that the Nili Masjid (Monument No.3) as well has similar octagonal projections at the eastern angles of its courtyard but without kiosks (Plates 45d, e). Perhaps, the Nili Masjid also had such kiosks which have eventually collapsed.

To the east in the middle stands the gateway the plinth of which projects outside the line of the platform (Pls.48a, c). Two spacious flights of steps lead into the gateway through a corbelled door in the eastern wall. The doorway is relieved by a huge arch recessed thrice and is further set into a rectangular panel projecting typically beyond the level of the wall like a portal. On either side of the doorway is a hanging balcony supported by brackets, - almost the same balcony which we have noticed in the Khairpur mosque (Pls.15 and 16) and also in the Moth (Pl.40c)[5]. The other three sides of the gateway are similar in treatment but devoid of balconies. Rows of

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4. Unfortunately, no measurement of this monument is available.

5. We shall see eventually that the same balconies appear hanging on the facade of the gateway to the mosque and tomb of Basti, a Lodi monument at Raipur Khurd, Delhi (Monument No.8). Cf. Pl.58.

niched recesses set into rectangular panels serve as border ornamentation of the portal on each side (Pl.48b). The structure is surmounted with a dome on an octagonal drum. The curve in the extrados of the dome is not so lofty as in case of the Bara Gunbad (Pls.23e and 24a) or of the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad (Pl.99). It is nearer in style to the dome of the Shish Gunbad and those of the Khairpur mosque i.e. of the early Lodi monuments. The finial of the dome has collapsed, only the base having been spared. In the interior of the gateway, there is a stone-bench around the floor (Pl.48d) - exactly the same stone-bench as in the Bara Gunbad and the Ala-i-Darwaza, a very striking feature of gateway architecture. The surface of the walls in the interior has flatly recessed niches. The square of the four walls recede into the octagon of the drum by means of squinches repeated twice. The octagon gradually merges into the circle of the dome. Like the eastern wall, the other three walls of the gateway are also pierced with doorways, - those to the north and south, being not accessible by means of steps, appear to be for the sake of symmetry and for receiving more light for the interior. The western doorway gives access to a spacious courtyard in front of the prayer-place. The courtyard is not enclosed with walls. Instead, it is surrounded with low parapets like the Nili Masjid and the Moth.

To the west of the courtyard lies the mosque or the prayer-place proper (Pl.48a). The mosque is a peculiar combination of two prayer-chambers with a wall-mosque in the middle. This wall-mosque consists of a wall with three niched recesses. The central niche i.e. the Mihrab is the biggest and is accommodated in a huge rectangular frame which projects beyond the level of the western wall. Close similarities

may be observed between the scheme of decoration in this wall-mosque and in that of the Kinait-i-Masjid, another Lodi wall-mosque in the same locality. The facade of each prayer-chamber is pierced with three arched openings with double recesses. Discs or medallions, eaves supported by short brackets, blind parapets and a stepped passage at the extreme end leading to the roof are among the notable features of the prayer-chambers. It may be stressed here that these features are typical of the Lodi period. Comparatively narrower passages at the two extreme ends of the mosque leading to the roof through staircases as in the cases of the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi, mosque of Basti and the Moth-ki-Masjid. The roofs of the prayer-chambers are externally flat and internally shallow vaults supported by corbelled pendentives resting on arches and pilasters (Pls.49a, b). The transition has taken place from the square into octagon, the octagon into sixteen sides and then into the circle. The ceiling of the vault has typical Lodi flutings, the same flutings which we have noticed in the so-called Assembly Hall attached to the Khairpur mosque and in the Moth-ki-Masjid. The prayer-chamber is divided into three bays corresponding to the three arched openings of the facade. Each bay end in a niche recessed in the Qibla wall. The central wall is repeated thrice while the side ones, twice. This repetition of the arches is, as we know, also one of the characteristic features of Lodi architecture. Either prayer-chamber opens towards the wall-mosque in the middle through a doorway. The mosque has two sloping, solid towers at the rear angles, exactly the same towers like those of the Nili Masjid. The entire monument seems to have had, originally, a thick coat of plaster, the remnants of which may still be found e.g. in the gateway, in the facade of the mosque and in the angle towers.

There is no historical inscription to be found in this monument. Arabic and Persian inscriptions of religious and non-historical character, however, appear in the arches of the gateway, in the wall-mosque, in the spandrels of the Mihrab of the prayer-chambers and in the discs[6]. Whereas from the inscriptions we cannot conclude anything in favour of the Lodis, they do not speak against them either.

In view of the above discussion, I find it very difficult to agree with Maulvi Ashraf Husain and ascribe the monument to the Mughals. Typical square gateway, corbelled doorways, hanging balconies, multi-recessed arches, lofty but slightly dropped dome and stone-bench of the gateway, kiosks at the angles of the courtyard and low parapets enclosing it, typical Lodi niches on the wall, characteristic Lodi decorations on the wall-mosque, shallow vaults of the prayer-chambers with typical Lodi flutings - all these features of the monument go to ascribe it to the Lodis and, in fact, they should have objections to its placement during the Mughal period. Unfortunately, it is not easy to identify its builder nor to fix its exact date. Attempt may be made, however, to arrive at an approximate date for this monument from an analytical study of its characteristic features.

Mandhi Masjid is, beyond doubt, one of the most developed monuments of the Lodi period. It does not belong to that period or stage of Lodi architecture when Tughlaq reminiscences were still predominant. It is true that the monument bears at the rear angles slightly cylindrical towers which are solid and not hollow nor pierced. But closer observations will reveal that these towers are distinct from typical Tughlaq towers with sharp slope and raised flutings. They are more vertical and slender and quite in keeping with the vertical walls.

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6. Refer Ashraf Husain, pp.91-92 for inscriptions of the monument.

They are different from the angle towers of the Khairpur mosque (1494 A.D.) and they are nearer in style to those of the Nili Masjid (1505-6 A.D.). The Kinait-i--Masjid (1511 A.D.) has hollow towers and in the Moth--ki-Masjid (c.1512 A.D.) these towers at the rear angles are not only hollow but also pierced. Thus once hollowed and pierced by the Lodis, the typical solid towers of the Tughlaqs with slope and flutings which continued down to the early Lodi days almost disappear from Indo-Islamic architecture. By way of this discussion, I would propose to place the Mandhi Masjid somewhere between the Nili Masjid and Moth-ki-Masjid i.e. between 1505-6 A.D. and 1512 A.D.

The Mandhi Masjid is very ambitious in plan but simple in ornamentation and symmetrical in proportions. It has continued and developed the aims and objects of the architect of the Nili Masjid. The result is admirable. It is free from the crowded decorations of early Lodi times. The architect seems to have been more concerned with symmetry and proportion than with minute details of surface decoration. Two flights of steps leading to the gateway, two hanging balconies decorating its facade, two canopied kiosks standing at the two ends of the courtyard and two similar prayer-chambers with a wall-mosque in the middle are features which speak of the architect's anxiety for symmetry. The gateway of the Mandhi Masjid is grand and monumental but it is not too big for the mosque proper. Perhaps, the architect had observed that the Bara Gunbad as a gateway was rather too big for the Khairpur mosque. He has taken, therefore, a smaller scale for his gateway and enlarged the mosque. The whole scheme would have been marred had he taken a small courtyard like those of the Khairpur mosque or of the Nili Masjid. Instead, the architect has provided the Mandhi Masjid with a very spacious courtyard which is neither too big nor too small for his

monument. Proportion, therefore, seems to have been his other great concern.

The Mandhi Masjid and the Moth have, at least, two very striking resemblances, - the same canopied kiosks stand on their eastern angles and the same narrow doorways at the extreme ends of the facade give access to the roofs of both the monuments. But that with its new and varied materials for construction, its blind arched panels for the platform, its pierced and hollow double-storeyed towers at the rear angles and its overall arrangement and style, Moth-ki-Masjid strikes to be the result of riper, so to say, later days than Mandhi Masjid, I would suggest that Moth-ki-Masjid owes these features to Mandhi Masjid. But, however, the difference of time does not appear to be too great between these two monuments.

I would revert to the narrow doorways at the two ends of the facade giving access to the roof by means of stair-cases. Here the doorways have arched openings in the manner of the Moth. But the same doorways with exactly the same purpose in the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi (1506 A.D.) are lintelled over. It is not safe to draw any conclusion out of it but it seems that the arched opening for the doorway was a later choice and as such the Mandhi Masjid appears to be a later monument than the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi i.e. after 1506 A.D.

In our attempt to fix up a date for the Mandhi Masjid, an unnamed Lodi mosque at Adchini, Delhi (Pl.51) may be of some help. Of all its features, I shall take the angle towers at the rear side into consideration. The towers are hollow and the monument is dated 912 A.H. = 1509-10 A.D. The same feature is continued in the Kinait-i-Masjid (1511 A.D.) and these hollow towers are pierced in the Moth-ki-Masjid (c. 1512 A.D.). The Adchini Mosque strikes me to be one of the earliest existing mosques of the Lodi period with hollow towers,

- a feature which became eventually popular[7]. As such, the Mandhi should belong to a time when the angle towers had yet to be hollowed i.e. before 1509-10 A.D. But as per discussion above, the date should fall sometime after 1506 A.D. I, therefore, suggest 1507-08 A.D. as the approximate date for the Mandhi Masjid. Unfortunately, however, it was not possible to identify its builder.

Before we finish with this monument, stress may be given on the fact that the Mandhi Masjid has remained a singular example of a wall-mosque and a roofed-mosque combined together. The idea behind exposing the main altar of the mosque to sun and shower is still an interesting query. Perhaps, it was only to satisfy the curiosity of the builder or the architect. The gigantic scheme of the mosque and ample space for prayer should speak of its congregational character. But its central feature, the Mihrab, being open to the sky, I suggest that the monument was used for congregational prayers but more as an Idgah than as a Jam-i-Masjid.

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7. These hollow towers appeared in Indo-Islamic architecture already in the 14th century. There was, however, a gap of more than a hundred years when they were revived by the Lodis.

Chapter VII

5. KINAIT-I-MASJID

A wall-mosque[1] belonging to the Lodi period is to be found in the village of Mehrauli, Delhi. It is locally known as 'Kinait-i-Masjid' (Plate 50a). The monument stands immediately to the south of an old building, called 'the House of Mufti Sadruddin'.[2] The basic material for construction is rubble and plaster. The mosque formed for sometime part of the compound of a private house. About the year 1920 it was taken over by the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, as a protected monument[3]. It is now in a fairly good order of preservation.

The monument consists of a wall running along the western side of an open courtyard. The wall measures 109 feet in length. It stands on a plinth which is pierced with arched openings in the rear side, a very common feature of Lodi architecture. We have noticed the same arched openings in the plinths of the Khairpur mosque, Bara Gunbad, Moth-ki-Masjid and the Mandhi Masjid. At the two ends of the wall are two bastion-like towers, each providing a round chamber with domed roof (Pl.49d). Such hollow towers, it may be noted here,

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1. A wall-type mosque consists mainly of a wall towards the Qibla side with an open courtyard in front. It has no prayer-chamber enclosed with walls nor is it shaded with a roof. The courtyard is, however, often enclosed with walls. Such type of mosques is meant for public prayers in the open, mainly for the Id gatherings and is, sometimes, found attached to a tomb or a graveyard. In the latter case, it seems, the purpose was that of Djanaza prayer.
2. For informations, see Blakiston, vol.iii, srl. No.119.
3. See Zafar Hasan, p.10.

were not introduced by the Lodis for the first time in Indo-Islamic architecture. In fact, they appeared already in the first half of the thirteenth century e.g. in the tomb and mosque of Sultan Ghari in Delhi (1231 A.D.). The same feature may be found in an Idgah at Kharera near Qutb (Pl.49c) which is said to have been built by Sultan Alauddin Khalji (1295-1315 A.D.)[4] The angle towers of the Kalan Masjid, Delhi (1380 A.D.) are also hollow and domed over. But, somehow, there is a formidable gap after that of more than a hundred years, when in the beginning of the sixteenth century the feature reappears with, of course, in its new set-up, e.g. in an unnamed mosque of the Lodi period at Adchini (1509-10 A.D.). I would regard this monument as the earliest surviving Lodi mosque with hollow engaged towers. About a year later the Kinait-i-Masjid was constructed with almost the same hollow towers at the rear angles but this time with flutings on the shaft as well as the extrados of the dome. It remained for Moth-ki-Masjid now to pierce them with arched openings and divide into storeys, as I have already argued in chapters IV and VI in 1512 A.D. The entire wall has a thick coat of plaster on the exterior. Its front side i.e. the side facing the courtyard is divided into a series of arched niches set into rectangular panels. Including the central one which accommodates the Mihrab, the panels are eleven in number. The arches are all four-centred and sharply pointed ones. It is important to note that the arches are without repetitions, a feature which was rather popular with early Lodi architecture. There are many other examples of Lodi monu-

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4. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.286. But to me, the monument appears to be of the Tughlaq period and belonging to the end of the 14th century. There is no doubt, however, that it is a pre-Lodi monument.

ments with arches devoid of repetitions e.g. the Nili Masjid, Mosque of Basti etc. This shows that arches with as well as without repetitions were in use at the same time under the Lodis and it is wrong to say that the Lodi arches are always with multi recesses. The Mihrab is elaborately decorated with inscriptions in incised plaster, arabesques and floral designs as well as geometrical patterns (Pl.50b). Rows of small rectangular panels with trefoil arched recesses occur as a usual feature of Lodi architecture in the scheme of decoration. The motives are all very sharply cut and neatly finished. Despite its exposition in sun and shower for about five hundred years, the ornamentation of the Mihrab of this wall-mosque seems to have been finished only recently. The scheme of ornamentation adopted for this mosque is not so extensive and elaborate as in the Khairpur mosque, but the workmanship is definitely superior. Almost all the late Lodi monuments are marked with the same characteristic feature. This shows that the late Lodi architects were not in favour of crowded decorations. The arabesques in the tympanum of the big central arch are of such excellence and beauty that they can well stand comparison with those of the Ala-i-Darwaza (cf. Pls.50b and 25b). The basic difference between the two is, of course, always there. Whereas in the Ala-i-Darwaza, the decoration is carved on stone, here it is cut on plaster. Last but not the least feature to be noted of this wall-mosque is that the third, the central and the ninth rectangular panels have projected considerably beyond the level of the wall and that the entire wall is crowned with pierced parapets or crestings.

The inscriptions contain mainly verses from the Quran. There is also a historical inscription incised

in plaster but much obliterated[5]. It reads :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - بنا كرد اين عمارت خطيره را
خان اعظم و خاقان معظم بپهدار زمان معدن الفضايل
وجامع السيف و القلم المويد بتائيد السبحان مجلس
اعلى ..... زاد الله دولته واعلى امره و شانه در زمان دولت
سلطان السلاطين ظل الله في ..... السماء المظفر على صفوف
الاعدا .... اسلام ملجاء خاص و عام المتوكل على .....
بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و
ابد على الخلايق ..... حقير شاه صفا .... بتاريخ هفتم
ماه رجب قدره ..... الله له الفتاح روز پنجشنبه
سنه سبع عشر و تسعماية *

Following is the English rendering of the above inscription :

"In the name of God who is merciful and clement. This tomb was erected by Khan-i-Azam Khakani Muazzam, the commander of an army, mine of virtues, pèrfect in the use of the sword as well as of pen, assisted by the help of God, Majlis Ala ..... may God increase his wealth and exalt his command and dignity, during the reign of King of Kings, the shadow of God in ..... the heaven, the victorious over the ranks of the enemies ...

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5. See Plate 50c for facsimile of the inscription published by Zafar Hasan, vide Epi. Indo-Mos., (1919-20), p.10; cf. reading by Blakiston (vol.iii, p.77).

Islam, the refuge of high and low, trusting in .... son of Bahlol Shah Sultan, may God perpetuate his reign and Kingdom and continue for ever people .... Faqir Shah Safa ... on Thursday, the 7th of the month of Rajab, of honoured rank ... the year nine hundred and seventeen."

The inscription places the monument during the time of Sikandar Shah Lodi and dates it for 917 A.H. = 1511 A.D. But it is curious to note that the inscription refers to the construction of a tomb by one, entitled Khan-i-Azam. This shows that the wall-mosque was, as planned originally, due to be attached to this said-to-have-been built tomb. But there is no trace of any tomb nor of any grave attached to this monument. The following observations may be made on this point :

It does not seem probable that the inscription tablet had been removed from any other monument and subsequently fitted in in this wall-mosque. It is also not feasible that the tomb referred to in the inscription had actually stood on the spot but has eventually collapsed; for, in that case, at least the plinth or the platform of the tomb would have been spared. As such, no tomb appears to have ever been raised attached to this mosque. But the very fact that a tomb has been mentioned in the inscription cannot be ignored. I would suggest that the wall-mosque had been constructed with a definite view to accommodate a tomb, most possibly, in the courtyard, - a plan which was never materialised. The wall-mosque itself was complete but, due to some unforeseen circumstances, the construction of the tomb could not be undertaken. Perhaps, the builder died, as in many other cases, an accidental death and was buried somewhere else. The inscription, therefore, seems to be abortive to the tomb which was yet to be built. This should explain the absence of a tomb attached to this monument even though the inscription refers to one.

The identity of the builder, Khan-i-Azam Khaqani Muazzam, is, unfortunately, not known. His name does not appear in the list of nobles under Sikandar Lodi supplied by Ferishta[6]. From the inscription, however, the Khan-i-Azam appears to be one of the important commanders of the army under Sikandar Shah Lodi towards the end of his regime. The style of the monument is also quite in agreement with the date mentioned in the inscription. The overall arrangement and the minute details represent very developed Lodi characteristics and I do not find any architectural objection to this date. I would, therefore, accept the date of the inscription i.e. 917 A.H. = 1511 A.D. as the date for this monument and propose to treat its features as late Lodi-characteristics.

That the inscription records the name of one 'Faqir Shah Safa' may not be lost sight of. To me the name appears to be that of the architect or of the scribe. It seems to be quite in keeping with the practice of the day that the inscription tablet included also the name of the architect or of the scribe. The Khairpur mosque, for example, records the name of the scribe and I have argued in its proper place that the inscription-tablet of the same monument records the names of the architects. Same were the cases of the Nili Masjid and the tomb attached to the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi.

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6. Cf. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, pp. 564-66.

Chapter VIII

6. AN UNNAMED MOSQUE AT ADCHINI, DELHI

About a hundred yards to the west of the Delhi-Qutb road, in the village of Adchini, is a nameless mosque (Plate 51a) inside the outer enclosure of the tomb of Bibi Zulaikha, mother of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (1250-51 A.D.)[1]. The basic material for construction is rubble masonry and the surface is finished with a coat of plaster, now partly fallen off. The monument is in a fair order of preservation. The structure consists only of walls around an open courtyard but, nevertheless, it represents vividly some typical Lodi characteristics. The monument has been enlisted by J.F. Blakiston[2] and its inscription has been read and a facsimile published thereof by Maulvi Zafar Hasan[3].

This is a wall-type mosque. The main wall i.e. the Qibla wall is comparatively higher in elevation than the enclosure walls of the courtyard (Pl.51a). The facade of the Qibla wall is recessed with seven arched niches, the central one being the principal Mihrab which is much bigger in span and in rise than the other niches. The Mihrab is a rectangular flat space bridged at the two angles, each with a slab of stone supporting the semi-dome of the niche, the intrados of which is exquisitely ornamented with geometrical patterns cut on plaster. Its skilful workmanship is bound to impress. The arch of the niche is twice recessed and further accommodated in a huge four-centred pointed arch, the whole network being accommodated in a rectangular frame. The method has yielded a very happy result. The rectangular recess rising

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1. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.195.
2. Ibid.
3. vide. Epi. Indo-Mos., 1919-20, p.9.

from the floor and surmounted with a neatly ornamented semi-dome and the network of arches with span proportionately bigger than the rise merge gradually into the spacious courtyard exposed to the sky. As typical of the period, the face of the frame is decorated with rows of niches. The coat of plaster on the Mihrab has mostly fallen off. It is very likely that the once-existing layer of plaster bore, as usual of the period, incised inscriptions. In fact, the photograph at Plate 51c[4] shows remnants of inscriptions and J.F. Blakiston also mentions, "The principal Mihrab is profusely decorated with Quranic inscriptions in incised plaster."[5] But plaster itself has peeled off with weather and time and with plaster, naturally, the inscriptions have also disappeared (Plate 51b)[6].

The entire Qibla wall is crowned with Kanguras or parapets. Double and even tripple repetitions in the arches and inscribed discs in the spandrels are also to be noticed as typical features of the Lodis. The two ends of the wall have each a bastion-like hollow tower with a small round chamber within. The towers are surmounted with domes, the finials of which have disappeared. As we have discussed already in the last chapter, these hollow towers at the rear angles of this monument deserve special attention. First introduced in Indo-Islamic architecture by the mosque-cum-tomb of Sultan Ghari, Delhi, (1231 A.D.), the feature may be seen in the angle-towers of the Kalan Masjid, Delhi, (1380 A.D.) and also in an Idgah near Qutb (c. 1400 A.D.). The fifteenth century monuments are provided with the solid, tapering towers. During the early sixteenth century again the hollow towers appear and this nameless mosque at

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4. Photo collected from the India Office Library, London (vide. Report of the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, 1912-13).
5. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.195.
6. A recent photograph by courtesy of the Department of Archaeological Survey of India.

Adchini seems to be the earliest surviving monument with this feature.

In front of the wall-mosque is an open pavement which seems clearly to be the prayer-place. Beyond it is an open courtyard with an octagonal platform in the middle which seems to be the remnants of a canopied structure supported by pillars now disappeared. The purpose of it could be that of a tomb. I am of the opinion that this wall-mosque was, originally, attached to this once-existing tomb. It seems also very probable that the courtyard accommodated more graves and in support of this contention, I would point out that the courtyard has projected irregularly beyond the area of the prayer-place towards the south (Plate 51a). The purpose of this irregular projection, I think, was the accommodation of graves. It should also be noted that the prayer-place proper is not raised on any platform. This is a feature of a wall-mosque attached to a graveyard.

The courtyard is enclosed by walls of comparatively lower elevation than the Qibla wall and the return walls of the prayer-place. These enclosure walls are also crowned with parapets. To the East-North-East of the courtyard is an arched entrance (Pl.51a). The arch is a stilted-pointed one and it is repeated twice (Pl.51d). The gateway, fortunately, bears a horizontal band (13 feet 8 inches in length) of inscription incised in plaster on the frieze. The inscription is of historical importance and it reads:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - تمام كرد عمارت
اين مقام متبرك بندگى ملك العلما
تاج الصلحا ميان محمد الله بن الهداد طلنبى

لازال ظله علينا روز شنبه في الثاني عشر
من شهر الله رجب سنه الخامس عشر
وتسعمايه در عهد سلطان السلاطين سكندر
بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد الله تعالى ملكه *

Following is the English rendering of the above inscription:

> "In the name of God who is merciful and clement. This sacred building was finished by the chief of the learned, the crown of the pious, Miyan Abdullah, son of Ilahdad of Talanba, may God continue his shadow upon us, on Saturday the 12th of the month of God Rajab, the year 915 during the reign of the king of kings Sikandar, son of Buhlol Shah Sultan, may God the great perpetuate his kingdom."[7]

According to the inscription, therefore, the builder of this monument was Miyan Abdullah, son of Ilahdad[8] of Talanba[9] and its date is Saturday, the 12th of Rajab in the year 915 A.H. = 1509-10 A.D., during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Shah Lodi.

The builder, Miyan Abdullah, was a resident of Talanba in the Punjab. 'He is known to history as one

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7. Cf. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.195, and Zafar Hasan, pp.9-10. Blakiston has in his translation 912 A.H. instead of 915, perhaps, a printing mistake.

8. Miyan Ilahdad was regarded as one of the few most learned men of his time in India. See Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, pp.576-77.

9. "Tulamba lies at a distance of 40 kos (about 80 miles) from Multan." - Zafar Hasan, p.9.

of the chief doctors of the Islamic Law during the reign of Sikandar Shah'.[10] As the builder was a religious man, it is very understandable why he constructed this wall-mosque close to the tomb of Bibi Zulaikha, mother of Shakh Nizamuddin Auliya, the celebrated saint[11]. It is not improbable that the grave in the centre of the courtyard contained the remains of this learned jurist on Islamic law. As for the date of the inscription, I do not find any architectural objection to accepting it as the date for this wall-mosque.

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10. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.195. See also Zafar Hasan, p.9.

    The author of the Tarikh-i-Daudi (vide. Elliot and Dowson, vol.iv, pp.439-40) has related an interesting story about Miyan Abdullah which speaks of his boldness, sagacity and tolerance. It also shows that he was held in high esteem by the king himself.

11. Cf.:
    "Mosque inside the outer enclosure of Bibi Zulaikha's tomb, the mother of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya ....". - Blakiston, vol.iii, p.195.

    "Mosque 50 yards North of the graves of the sisters of Nizamuddin Aulia". - Report of the Director General, A.S.I., Northern Circle, 1912-13, Plate 2927.

    "..... mosque near Bibi Hur and Nur's tomb at the Adchini village." - Zafar Hasan, p.9.

    It is not the proper place nor occasion to enter into the controversy about the identification of the tomb or tombs adjacent to the wall-mosque at Adchini. It seems, however, that the tombs belong to some female relatives of the saint, Nizamuddin Auliya (d. 648 A.H. = 1250-51 A.D.). Bibi Hur and Bibi Nur appear to be the names of the sisters of the saint, and the monuments in question belong to the thirteenth century.

Chapter IX

7. MOSQUE OF DAULAT KHAN LODI

The mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi (Plate 61a) attached to a canopied tomb may be seen immediately to the west of a Baoli or a reservoir, called Rajon-ki-Bain (Pl.63), in the village of Mehrauli, Delhi. Built of rubble and plaster, the group of monuments is in a fairly good condition of preservation.

The mosque is raised on a high quadrangular platform which, being narrower towards the northern side, is irregular in plan (Pl.62b). This irregularity is due to the existence of the reservoir bordering immediately to the platform[1]. The top of the platform can be reached by flights of narrow steps built in the thickness of the wall to the southern side. Along the western side of the platform stands the rectangular mosque. In the open courtyard and in front of the mosque is a canopied tomb, square in plan (18 feet square). The tomb is a very humble structure which is merely a Chhatri or a kiosk of twelve pillars supporting a small dome (Pl.62a). The square base of the tomb accommodates a grave. Whereas we shall discuss the tomb in its proper place[2], we take notice of a Persian inscription in prose written on a red sand-stone slab fixed above the Chhancha or eaves of the tomb on the southern side. The writing is in Naskh charac-

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1. 'Da der Platz durch die Baoli beschränkt war, mußte der Grabbau ziemlich nahe an die Moschee heranrücken.' - says Wetzel, p.21.

2. See Part two, 'Tomb Architecture'.

ter incised in plaster[3]. It reads as follows :

در عهد همایون سلطان الاعظم المعظم
المتوکل علی الرحمن سکندر شاه بن بهلول
شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه بنا کرده
این گنبد بنده امید وار برحمت پروردگار
دولت خان ..... خواجه محمد غره ماه رجب
سنه اثنی عشر و تسعمایة *

Following is the English translation of the inscription :

"During the auspicious reign of the great Sultan, trusting the most Merciful, Sikandar Shah, the son of Bahlol Shah Sultan - may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty - this dome was built by the slave, the expectant of the mercy of the Omnipotent, (named) Daulat Khan ..... Khwaja Muhammad on the first of the month of Rajab in the year nine hundred and twelve (17th November, 1506 A.D.)"[4].

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3. See Plate 64c for a facsimile of the inscription published by Zafar Hasan, p.7; cf. readings of Thomas, p.370, Ashraf Husain, p.86, Blochmann, vide. P.A.S.B. (1873), p.159, Blakiston, vol.iii, p.103 and Stephen, pp.169-70.

4. The text of the inscription consists of four lines and is engraved on a red sand-stone slab measuring 2 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 3 inches. In the last line a word after 'Daulat Khan' is not clearly readable. According to Blochmann's reading, 1st Rajab, 920 = 23rd August, 1514 A.D. (vide. P.A.S.B., 1873, p.159). Carr Stephen has 922 A.H. = 1516 A.D. (see Stephen, pp.170). But, I am afraid, the correct reading is 912 A.H. = 1506 A.D. in which year the 1st day of Rajab was equivalent to the 17th of November.

We shall discuss the significance of the inscription subsequently when we dwell on the date and builder of the monuments.

The mosque, as we have seen already, is rectangular in plan. It measures 51 feet 6 inches EW by 16 feet NS[5]. The facade of the mosque is pierced with three stilted arches, '6 feet wide and 9 feet high'[6]. The arches are recessed twice and are supported by double piers. The spandrels of the arches bear two medallions each. The central archway is relieved by a bigger blind arch but not in the manner of a projecting portal. The flat surface between the archways is thickly plastered over and is recessed with typical Lodi niches. Above the arcade of the facade runs a continuous line of stone eaves. Above it is a broad blank frieze which is plainly plastered over and crowned by a high parapet with moulded decoration. The frieze, having been left devoid of any decoration, lends a rather monotonous view. This seems to have disturbed the architect of the mosque of Basti at Raipur-Khurd (Monument No.8) as to why he has broken the monotony of the otherwise blank frieze of his mosque with a horizontal band of blind arched niches (Plate 56a). Each end of the mosque of Daulat Khan has a narrow doorway opening giving access to a staircase which leads to the roof. It may be recalled here that we have come across the same doorway-openings for staircases in the Moth-ki-Masjid (No.2) and also in the

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5. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.102.
Carr Stephen has '77 feet long and 18 feet broad' (Stephen, p.169). This seems to be the external measurement and Blakiston's, the internal measurement. The thickness of the walls seems to be one foot and a space of about 12 feet 9 inches appears to have been consumed by the side walls and staircases at each end of the mosque.

6. Stephen, p.169.

Mandhi Masjid (No.4). We shall eventually find the same feature in the mosque of Basti (No.8). This, I should think, is a feature first introduced by the Lodis in the mosque architecture of India and, what is more, the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi is the earliest existing example with this feature. It was continued in the Jamali Masjid of 1536 A.D. (Plates 44a and 44c). In the Qila-i-Kohna Masjid (circa 1545 A.D.) the doorway was removed from the facade to the sidewall (Plate 44d). The roof is externally flat which is also a striking feature. Besides this monument, however, the so-called Assembly Hall attached to the Jam-i-Masjid of Khairpur, the Mandhi Masjid at Bagh-i-Nazir, the mosque of Basti and an unnamed Lodi mosque behind the Jail at Delhi (Pl.54a) have also flat roofs. The Moslems, so famous for their love for the dome and the arch, seem to have developed liking also for the externally filled-up flat roof.

The side and the rear walls are plainly plastered over and have no special feature to observe (Pl.61a). As usual, however, the rear wall has a rectangular projection in the middle corresponding to the niche of the principal Mihrab.

Internally, the mosque is divided into three bays corresponding to the three arched openings of the facade (Pl.61c). Each bay ends in a niched recess in the Qibla wall (Pl.62b). The bays are roofed over with shallow circular vaults. As usual, the nave accommodates the main Mihrab and a three-stepped Minbar. The transition has taken place through a five-stepped corbel at each angle which rises from a strut and looks like a hanging pendentive. The central bay is profusely decorated with Arabic and Persian inscriptions, geometrical patterns and small decorative niches[7]. The

7. See Ashraf Husain, pp.85-86 for the inscriptions of the mosque.

inscriptions are non-historical in character. It is curious to take notice of a Persian inscription of Naskh character cut in plaster on the upper part of the main Mihrab. The inscription refers to an unknown book and it has nothing to do with the mosque[8]. It shows how blindly, sometimes, the masons copied things without understanding their meaning or caring for their suitability. The ceiling of the central bay bears ornamental flutings like those of the Khairpur mosque, Moth-ki-Masjid, Mandhi Masjid and so on (Pl.61c). The ceilings of the side bays are devoid of any flutings.

Immediately to the east of the high platform accommodating the mosque, its courtyard and the canopied tomb, is an imposing reservoir, known as Rojon-ki-Bain (Pl.63). Originally a Baoli or a reservoir attached to this mosque and the tomb, it was for sometime occupied by some Rajons i.e. masons. This gave it the name, 'Rajon-ki-Bain', meaning 'the reservoir of the masons'[9]. Built of lime and stone, the reservoir is one of the most well-preserved and beautiful Baolis of India. In fact, it continues the tradition of a Baoli attached to the shrines of the Chisti saints e.g. those of Khwaja Mainuddin Chisti at Ajmer and of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya at Delhi. It was, perhaps, only during the Lodi time when a Baoli was constructed attached to the tomb and mosque of a noble[10].

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8. For the text and translation of the inscription see Ashraf Husain, pp.85-86.

9. Athár, p.68; Stephen, p.169; " ... the masons had it in their use when they lived in its neighbourhood" - Ashraf Husain, p.86.

10. The Baoli attached to the mosque and tomb of Basti is another instance in point. There is a similar Lodi Baoli in ruins near the tomb of Langar Khan at Shamilet Deh, Delhi.

The Baoli is an oblong from north to south (see plan at Plate 60). Flights of steps from the north lead down to the water. Now, however, the Baoli lies dried up[11]. 'In 1875 A.D., there were 66 steps visible and four storeys'[12] (Pl.63c). But in the meantime it has been partly filled up and only three storeys and 44 steps are to be seen (Pls.63a, b). To the south, east and west stand lofty stone-walls containing small rooms arranged in storeys. The walls are about 77 feet high and those on the east and west measure 108 feet in length. As at present, the walls of the lowest visible storey are pierced with arched openings at considerable intervals (Pls.63a and b). This has added strength to the lowest storey, so to say, to the structure as a whole. The arcades of the second storey rest on single pillars and those of the top storey are supported by double piers. The arches are all pointed stilted ones. They have striking similarities with the arches of the facade of the attached mosque.

The purpose of such a Baoli could be manifold. Its water could be used for ablution by those saying prayer in the mosque attached to it. Secondly, the water of the Baoli would keep the rooms around it cool and comfortable. The rooms could be used either temporarily by guests or permanently by their residents. It was, perhaps, a caravansarai. It is also probable that the structure housed a college. According to Seyid Ahmad, "When the Sultan would visit the shrine of

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11. "In February last, there was only 9 feet of water in the spring, but in the rains it is much deeper, and the lower rooms of the side walls, I am told, have been sometimes, under water." - describes Carr Stephen in 1876 A.D., Stephen, p.169.

12. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.102.
"I have been able to count only 66 steps, 57 above and 9 under water, but the natives of the place believe that there are many more." - Stephen, p.169.

Qutb Saheb, the royal guests would stay here (i.e. at Rajon-ki-Bain)"[13]. From its location in the vicinity of the oft-visited shrine of the celebrated saint, Qutbuddin Kaki, it appears not improbable that Rajon-ki-Bain with its many rooms, water and a mosque was used as a halting place by the royal guests on visit to the holy shrine.

Date and the builder :

We have seen already that the mosque proper does not bear any inscription recording its date and the name of the builder. Luckily, however, the canopied tomb attached to it bears an inscription according to which the monument was built in 912 A.H. = 1506 A.D.[14], during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi by one Daulat Khan.

As for the available literature on the monument, Seyid Ahmad Khan[15] has dated it for 912 A.H. = 1506 A.D. on the authority of the inscription in the canopied tomb on its courtyard. Friedrich Wetzel[16] has dealt with the monument but attempted no fixation of its date nor identification of its builder. J.F.Blakiston[17] has dated it for 918 A.H. = 1512 A.D. but has mentioned no authority for his dating. According to him, therefore, the tomb (1506 A.D.) should antedate the

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13. Athár, p.68
14. Stephen, Carr (p.170) has read 922 A.H. which appears to be a mistake for 912 A.H.
15. Athár, p.68.
16. Wetzel, pp.21-22.
17. Blakiston, vol.iii, p.102.

mosque (1512 A.D.?) by six years. I am afraid, I cannot subscribe to this view of Blakiston. I shall discuss on this point in the next paragraph. Carr Stephen[18] has dated the group of monuments for 922 A.H. = 1516 A.D., which, I hold, is a misreading[19].

Now, the group of these monuments has some interesting features which may help us in arranging them in a chronological order. The platform of the mosque and the tomb is irregular in plan. It is narrower towards the northern side. This shows that while the architect had to take care of the Qibla i.e. the western side of the mosque and treat it with priority, the eastern side of the platform became slanting due to the existence of the Baoli. I, therefore, suggest that the Baoli had been dug up already before the construction of the mosque and the tomb. It is also possible that the earth dug out of the Baoli was used for the high platform of the mosque and the tomb. Secondly, the very location of the tomb is an interesting point to observe. It stands to the northern side i.e. the narrower side of the courtyard and rather too close to the mosque, - so close that it almost hinders the archway of the northern bay. There is sufficient space towards the southern side of the courtyard to accommodate this canopied tomb. But towards this side are the flights of steps which are the only access to the courtyard and the mosque. Perhaps, that is why the tomb was not raised towards the southern side in spite of space. It could not be raised in the centre of the courtyard either; because, in that case, it would hinder the central bay i.e. the main axis of the mosque. All these accept the existence of the mosque before the tomb. I, therefore, find it difficult to endorse Blakiston's views above and propose to put the

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18. Stephen, p.170.
19. See ante fns. 3 and 13.

Baoli in the first place in order of chronology, after that the mosque and then the tomb. But, obviously, the gap of time between them was not considerable and, as such, the entire group may be regarded as of the same time. I would, therefore, accept the date of the inscription i.e. 1506 A.D. as the date for the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi, the tomb and the Rajon-ki-Bain.

But who was this Daulat Khan? The name does not appear in the list of nobles during the time of Sikandar Lodi supplied by Ferishta nor in the Tarikh-i--Daudi[20]. One Daulat Khan-Khani is mentioned in the Wakiat-i-Mustaki as a petty noble of Sultan Sikandar's reign who had only 4000 cavalry under him[21]. Daulat Khan, son of Tartar Khan, was in charge of Lahore during the reign of Sikandar Lodi[22]. It is not certain if these two Daulat Khans were the same person. The author of the Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani has narrated an anecdote about some fun arising out of two Daulat Khans, - Daulat Khan Lodi, son of Tartar Khan, and Miyan Daulat Khan, son of Malik Ahmad Lodi Yusuf Khail of Roh, - attending the same banquet[23]. But Miyan Daulat Khan died at the age of 52 years in 1010 A.H. = 1602 A.D. during the reign of Akbar, the Great Mughal and was buried at Burhanpur in Khandesh[24]. He was, thus, born in 1550 A.D. whereas in 1526 A.D., Daulat Khan, son of Tartar Khan, had already died. Their meeting together, therefore, sounds impossible. In any case, in 1506 A.D. when these monuments were built, Miyan Daulat Khan would take about half a

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20. Cf. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, pp.564-66 and Tarikh--i-Daudi, vide. Elliot & Dowson, vol.iv, pp.471-75.

21. vide. Elliot & Dowson, vol.iv, p.545.

22. Cf. Elliot & Dowson, vol.iv, p.548.

23. See Islamic Culture, vol.xxiii, (Hyderabad) - Deccan, 1949), p.172, article on Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and his successors by S.M. Imamuddin.

24. Ibid, p.178. According to some, Miyan Daulat Khan died in 1009 A.H. = 1600 A.D.

century yet to be born. Miyan Daulat Khan, therefore, does not seem to have anything to do with this mosque, tomb and the Baoli at Mehrauli. But, to be sure, the Daulat-Khan, son of Tartar Khan, governor of the Punjab, was a very influential noble during Sikandar's time[25]. 'This Tartar Khan held Sirhind, and all the countries of the Punjab north of the Sutlej. On his death, Sultan Sikandar, who then reigned, probably jealous of the power of the family, had deprived them of that government. But, about two years before Babur mounted the throne of Kabul (i.e. in the year 908 A.H. = 1502-3 A.D.)[26] the Sultan had restored to Daulat--Khan, Tartar's son, the government of Lahore alone'[27]. Daulat continued to enjoy his position as governor of Lahore till the last day of Sikandar Lodi's reign and he was held in great respect by the king[28]. He belonged to the same clan, Sahu Khail, as the king himself did and his father, Tartar Khan, had a great hand in Buhlul Lodi's coming to power[29]. After the death of Sikandar Lodi, however, and with his son, Ibrahim Lodi's accession, Daulat-Khan fell into disfavour of the new king.

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25. Babur calls him 'Daulat Khan Tartar Khan Yusuf Khail' (vide. Babur-nama, vol.i, p.428). 'In doing this, he (Babur) uses the family- or clan-name instead of the tribal one, Ludi.' - comments Mrs. Annette Beveridge, Babur-nama, vol.ii, p.451, 3 fn. Ferishta calls him 'Daulat Khan Lodi' (see Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, pp.597-8).

26. This shows that in 912 A.H. = 1506 A.D. when the Rajon-ki-Bain and the attached mosque and tomb were constructed, this Daulat Khan had been the governor of Lahore already for about four years. It was very possible, therefore, that he had built this group of monuments.

27. Erskine, vol.i, p.413

28. Cf. Elliot & Dowson, vol.iv, pp.473-74, 2 fn.

29. Tartar Khan was one of the six or seven great Afghán chiefs who raised Buhlul Lodi to the throne of Delhi. See Erskine, vol.i, p.413.

He formed a league with Alam Khan, the discontented uncle of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and tried to use the Mughal Babur against Ibrahim. But Daulat Khan was no match for Babur and his plans. This resulted ultimately in the overthrow of the Lodi dynasty and foundation of Mughal rule in India. In despair and disgrace, Daulat Khan Lodi died when Babur was still on his way to the battle of Panipath in 1526 A.D.[30]. He'died on the way to Bhera[31], where he was to have been imprisoned'[32] by Babur. His family was in disgrace and driven to destitute. The family members were forced to the jungles. It is not known where the body of Daulat Khan was buried. But the circumstances do not appear to have been in favour of carrying the body to Delhi and deposit it there with proper ceremonies. This throws doubt if Daulat Khan lies buried in the canopied kiosk in front of his mosque at Mehrauli, which he had constructed already in 1506 A.D. Two possibilities strike me : Daulat built this tomb for somebody else who lies buried here or, else, he had built it for himself during his life-time and, perhaps, his remains were shifted and deposited here after his last wishes by his successors when circumstances permitted[33]. Leaving aside the question as to

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30. C.H.I., vol.iii, p.250.

31. The town of Bhera (also written Bhira) belongs to the district of Shahpúr in the province of the Punjab, now in West Pakistan. It is situated on the river, Jhelum. Travelling distance from Delhi is about 462 miles. Lat.32° 10′N. long. 72° 50′E. About fourteen miles north of Bhera lies the range of mountains, called the Saltrange. The place was a bone of contention for sometime between Babur and Daulat Khan Lodi. See the accompanying map of India-and-Pakistan for location. Refer Erskine, vol.i, pp.413-14 for history. See also Hamilton, vol.i, p.493, and Babarnama, vol.i, pp.382-83.

32. C.H.I., vol.iv, p.12.

33. Fortune smiled again on the family of Daulat Khan Lodi. His son Dilawar Khan was held in great respect by the grand Mughals and was entitled Khan-i-Khanan, the highest title conferred on a noble under the Mughals.

whose remains this tomb contains, I would conclude that the date for this interesting group of monuments, - the mosque, the tomb and the Rajon-ki-Bain - is 1506 A.D. and the builder was Daulat Khan Lodi, the powerful governor of the Punjab under Sultan Sikandar Shah Lodi.

Chapter X

8. MOSQUE OF BASTI

The mosque of Basti (Plate 56) stands in a group of three buildings (Pl.55), the other two being a tomb (Pl.57) and a gateway (Pl.58), some 250 yards to the south of Phuta Gunbad in the village of Raipur Khurd. The group lies about two miles to the west of the famous shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, just beside the railway line. The buildings are arranged around an open, spacious courtyard. To the west lies the mosque itself, to the east a Baoli, known as 'Basti Baoli' (Pl.59) and to the south stands the tomb of Basti. From the south-western corner an imposing gateway gives access to the entire group of monuments. The buildings were enclosed by battlemented masonry walls, now in ruins. Of the group, the mosque and the gateway are comparatively in a better condition of preservation. Parts of the tomb have been dilapidated and the tank has been reduced almost into ruins, only a part of an arcade having been spared (Pl.59). The material for construction is rubble masonry finished with plaster.

The mosque (Pl.56a) is a rectangular structure measuring 44 feet NS by 19 feet EW[1]. The mosque is raised on a platform about 22 feet high and its elevation is 14 feet, the total height from the ground level being, thus, 36 feet[2]. The facade of the mosque is pierced with three archways, the central one being the widest. The arches are four-centred pointed stilted ones supported by double piers and set into rectangular frames. They are repeated twice and their spandrels are

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1. Blakiston, vol.iv, p.20; Stephen, Carr (p.165) has 57 feet by 14 feet.
2. Stephen, p.165

ornamented with circular discs of incised plaster. It may be recalled here that almost the same features we have come across in the Nili Masjid (Pls.45d, e) and in the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi (Pl.61). Three arched openings corresponding to the three bays of the prayer-chamber, instead of five, seem to be a common feature with mosques attached to tombs and those having a less congregational character. In the level of these arches at the south end of the facade is an arched doorway to a staircase leading to the roof of the mosque which is flat. Such doorway we have noticed also in the Moth-ki--Masjid (Pl.39a) and in the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi (Pl.61). There is another 'flight of steps to the north of the courtyard, which, measuring 51 feet by 21 feet 6 inches, projects to the east of the mosque'[3]. This staircase, exposed to the sky, also leads to the roof. The feature is rather peculiar. Almost the same flights of steps are mentioned to have been there in the Jam-i--Masjid of Firoz Shah in his Kotla (1354 A.D.). The mosque is in ruins now and, at least, the staircases can hardly be reconstructed. But they are said to have been used for call to prayer. The exposed staircases of this mosque also seem to have been meant for the same purpose. But I have come across no other Lodi mosque with such staircases. The Jam-i-Masjid of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur (Pl.4c) has a flight of steps only on one side, to the south. They are not exposed. The mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi at Mehrauli has staircases on two sides, to the south as well as to the north. Both these staircases are built through the thickness of the wall and they are also shaded. The doorways of the stair-cases, it may be noted, are lintelled. The mosque of Basti appears with two staircases, - one to the south and the other to the north. But while the southern stairs are shaded, those to the north are exposed. What

3. Blakiston, vol.iv, p.20.

is more, they lead to a doorway which is elevated above the other archways of the facade. The feature is a novel one but it does not appear to have gained popularity. Both the doorways, however, have arched openings, and not lintelled ones. The Mandhiwali Masjid and Moth-ki-Masjid have also two such staircases with arched openings for the doorways. But both the staircases are shaded and their doorways are in harmony with the archways of the prayer-chamber.

Now, above the arches of the facade runs a continuous line of Chhancha or eaves of red sand-stone supported by short brackets. The continuity is an important point. Normally, the central bay of a mosque projects into a portal and this intervenes the continuity of the eaves. Here the nave has no portal and, thus, the line of eaves is without any break. Exactly the similar feature may be observed in a said-to-be Lodi mosque behind the Jail at Delhi (Pl.54a).

Between the line of eaves and the crowning parapets is a frieze relieved by a row of nine rectangular panels containing arched recesses (Pl.56a). This, I find, is a remarkable feature of the mosque. Perhaps, the mosque in ruins behind the Jail at Delhi (Pl.54a) is the only other example with such frieze. The result has been satisfactory. The mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi has also got a frieze between the cornice and the eaves; but since the frieze there is not relieved by flat niches, it lends a vacant view and suffers from monotony. The architect of the Basti mosque has overcome it by introducing a row of niched panels. The feature has been continued with slight variation in the Jamali Masjid (1535 A.D.) where, however, the continuity of the row of niches has been flanked by the portal in the central bay (Pl.44b).

Before we pass on from the facade of the mosque of Basti, we may take notice of the remains of some brackets below the line of the parapets in the middle. The brackets are of dressed stone and they seem to have once supported a projecting balcony now disappeared. This is responded to by another hanging balcony to the rear side of the monument[4]. The feature may remind us of the once-hanging balcony at the back wall of the Jam-i-Masjid at Khairpur (Pl.19b). The Basti mosque had a balcony on the facade and in the Moth-ki--Masjid, it has been accommodated in the tympanum of the portal (Pl.39d). Later monuments like the Jamali Masjid (Pls.43d and 44a, c) and the mosque at Qila-i-Kohna (Pls.44d, e) have such balconies on all sides as decoration.

Internally, the mosque is divided into three bays, the central one being covered with a flat domed ceiling, which together with the central Mihrab is ornamented with Quranic inscriptions in incised plaster (Pl.56b). The central bay is roofed over by means of a shallow circular vault which is externally flat. The transition from the square space below into the circle of the dome above has taken place through niched pendentives supported by arches. The side bays have flat ceilings also resting on massive arches. The central bay, as usual, accommodates the principal Mihrab and a three-stepped Minbar or pulpit. The Mihrab is richly decorated with calligraphic and geometrical patterns incised on plaster. The inscriptions have been much obliterated and can hardly be read now. They are, however, non-historical in character[5]. The wing bays have arched ceilings and

4. See Blakiston, vol.iv, p.20. Unfortunately, no photograph showing the rear side of the monument was available to me and, therefore, I had to depend on the description of the monument given by Blakiston.

5. For the text of the inscriptions refer Ashraf Husain, p.48.

the niches on the Qibla wall corresponding to them have each a small oblong window-opening of grey dressed stone. Corresponding to them on the rear wall are brackets of dressed stone once supporting hanging balconies which we have already noticed above.

The side walls and the back one have no special feature to be noted. It may, however, be mentioned here that the rear angles are without towers. In this respect, again, the monument resembles the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi and the unnamed mosque behind the Jail at Delhi.

In front of the mosque is the courtyard, to the south of which stand the tomb of Basti and the gateway; and to the east is the tank. Whereas we shall deal with the tomb in its proper place[6], we shall discuss here the reservoir and the gateway.

The Baoli or the reservoir attached to the mosque and tomb of Basti is known as 'Basti Baoli'[7]. Situated in front of the mosque, the Baoli is an oblong measuring '96 feet by 26 feet 3 inches'[8]. 'The tank is now filled up with earth and is only indicated by a dilapidated five arched dalan 37 feet by 11 feet 3 inches on the north and south (Pl.59) and by the eastern wall, the corners of which are marked by open pavilions'[9]. 'The rooms which were once built in the walls of the spring, have since disappeared; with the exception, however, of about three or four rooms in the northern and southern walls which may yet be seen partially

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6. See part ii, 'Tomb Architecture'.
7. 'Basti Baori' - says Seyid Ahmad Khan, Athár, p.25.
8. Blakiston, vol.iv, p.20.
9. Blakiston, vol.iv, p.20. From the ruins of the Baoli, as at present, nothing can be reconstructed of its original features. I have, therefore, depended on the earlier authors who had, at least, the advantage of time.

buried under debris and earth. The walls of the spring were about 15 feet high, and on the corners of its eastern wall were two open pavilions, about 11 feet square and 14 feet high. The steps which once led to the water, with the exception of about nine broken ones, are now buried under the earth'.[10] With all these features, the Basti Baoli appears to have once been similar to and as imposing as the Rajon-ki-Bain (Pls.60 and 63).

We now come to the gateway. This monumental gateway, as we have noted, stands immediately to the west of the tomb of Basti and to the south of his mosque (Pl.55). Built of rubble masonry finished with plaster, the gateway 'is a square of 35 feet[11] and stands on a plinth 10 feet high, from the top of the plinth to the roof it is 27 feet high, and from the roof to the top of the dome it gains 23 feet more, thus giving a total height of 60 feet to the building'[12]. On each of its four sides, there is a projecting bay pierced in the middle with a red sand-stone doorway and emphasized at the top by decorative Guldastas or turrets which are further responded to by turrets at the four corners of the roof as well as the angles of the octagonal drum of the dome. On the western side of the gateway and on either side of the door for passage, is an oriel window with a hanging balcony supported by brackets. Similarities between these two balconies and those of the gateway to the Mandhi Masjid at Bagh-i-Nazir (Pl.48a) are surprisingly close. But there is a difference in the shape of the canopies. Whereas the canopies of the balconies at Bagh-i-Nazir are nearer in form and technique to those of the Khairpur mosque

10. Stephen, p.165.

11. According to Blakiston's measurement (vol.iv) p.21), 23 feet 4 inches square.

12. Stephen, p.165.

(Pls. 15 and 16), the Basti balconies are nearer in style to those of the Moth-ki-Masjid (Pl.40c) and also to the kiosks at the entrance of the tomb of Sikandar Lodi (Pl.157). The facade of the western front of the gateway is ornamented, though sparingly, with red sand-stone; up to a height of about three feet from the plinth, the gateway is faced with grey sand-stone.'[13] 'On each side of its doorway is a winding staircase leading to the roof.'[14] Elevated curvature of the extra-dos of the dome is also a striking feature of the monu-ment.

The building and also the reservoir contain no historical inscriptions.[15]

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13. Stephen, p.165.

14. Unfortunately, I do not recollect exactly if there is a stone-bench in the interior around the floor of this gateway in the manner of the Alai Darwaza, Bara Gunbad and the gateway to the Mandhi Masjid. There is no information in the available literature on this point. No photographic material is avail-able either. It is very likely, however, that the gateway has got such a stone-bench, which seems to be a popular feature with the gateway architecture of the period.

15. For non-historical inscriptions refer Ashraf Husain, pp. 48-49.

The date and the builder :

We have noted already that no building of the group bears any historical inscription recording the date or the name of the builder. As for the available literature on them, Seyid Ahmad Khan, the earliest known writer on Delhi archaeology, gives no date for these buildings nor names the builder. "From its architecture it appears to be as old as the days of the Pathans" - is all that he says on this point[16]. Carr Stephen says, "Khwaja Sara Basti Khan was a eunuch, and a man of importance in the reign of Sikandar Lodi; he enclosed an extensive piece of ground near the village of Nizamuddin, and built a large domed gateway, a mosque, a spring and a tomb in it. Seyud Ahmad Khan gives the year 894 A.H. = 1488 A.D. as the probable date of the building of this tomb."[17] It is interesting to note that whereas Carr Stephen holds that Khwaja

16. Athár, p.25.
It may not be out of place to mention here that M. Garcin de Tassy has published in the Journal Asiatique a French translation of a part of Seyid Ahmad Khan's Atháru-'s-Sanádid under the title, 'Des Monuments de Delhi en 1852' (vide. Journal Asiatique, Paris, 1860). On the tomb of Basti he has said, 'Sultan Sikandar, son of Buhlul Lodi built for him (Basti Khan) this tomb in about 894 A.H. = 1488 A.D. But in the copy of the Athár which I have used (second edition, Lucknow, 1293 A.H. = 1876 A.D.), I have not come across any such statement made by Seyid Ahmad himself in his original text in Urdu. Besides this, the discrepancies between the original text and this translation are so many and so great that, I am afraid, de Tassy's 'Des Monuments de Delhi en 1852' can hardly be treated as a translated version of Seyid Ahmad's Athár.

17. Stephen, p.164.
As for the last part of Carr Stephen's statement, I am afraid, he, writing in 1876 A.D., depended on de Tassy's translation (published in 1860 A.D.) of Seyid Ahmad's Athár.
See also fn.1 ante.

Sara Basti Khan was a eunuch in the reign of Sikandar Lodi (which began on the 17th of July, 1489 A.D.)[18], he accepts 1488 A.D. as the date for this tomb built over his (Basti Khan's) remains (a date when, in fact, he was still alive) and during the reign of Sikandar Lodi which had not yet begun[19]. J.F. Blakiston has dated the monuments for circa 894 A.H. = 1488 A.D.[20] He has not mentioned any authority for his date but since he has referred to Carr Stephen in his work, it is possible that he has gone by his dating. According to Maulvi Muhammad Ashraf Husain, the monuments were 'built by Basti who is believed to have been a eunuch in the reign of Sikandar Lodi.'[21] He has given no definite date; but should we accept that Basti Khan was a eunuch during the reign of Sikandar Lodi which began in 1489 A.D., we cannot accept 1488 A.D. as the date for these monuments. Doubts naturally arise but the available literature do not throw any light on them.

Examined architecturally, the Basti monuments bear close resemblances, in plan and setting, in style as well as technique, with the mosque, tomb and the tank of Daulat Khan Lodi at Mehrauli. (Pls. 60, 61, 62, and 63). The date of the latter monuments is, we have seen, 1506 A.D. Both the groups consist of a tomb, a mosque and a reservoir. In both the cases the tombs are only canopied kiosks. Both the mosques have three bays with similar double-recessed arches, narrow doorways at the two ends of the facade for staircases

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18. C.H.I., vol.iii, p.235

19. It should, however, be mentioned here that according to some authors the date of Sikandar Lodi's accession is 1488 A.D. and that seems to be the reason why the approximate date for some monuments of his time has sometimes been shown for 1488 A.D. This should not mislead us.

20. Blakiston, vol.iv, pp.20-21.

21. Ashraf Husain, pp. 48-49.

leading to the roof, a continuous line of eaves above the arches and a broad frieze above the eaves. Surprising similarity may be observed in the shape of the arches for the central Mihrab. Rectangular Baolis with rows of cell-like rooms beside the mosque and tomb are also a striking point of resemblance. Indeed, the resemblances are so close that I was almost tempted to fix 1506 A.D., i.e. the date of Daulat Khan's buildings, also as the date for Basti monuments.

But the differences between the two groups of monuments cannot be ignored. The Basti monuments are certainly better arranged than the buildings of Daulat Khan. In fact, the former seems to be an improvement upon the latter. The conjestion in the mosque and tomb of Daulat Khan has been done away with in the Basti monuments, - a spacious courtyard has been provided, the front of the mosque has been freed from the tomb which has been shifted to one side and raised on a commodious platform, the baoli is more easily accessible from the courtyard of the mosque and the tomb and the entire group has been provided with an imposing gateway which fails in the monuments of Daulat Khan. They are different also in matters of detail. We have noted these differences already in the treatment of the facade of the two mosques. All these point out at a comparatively later date for the Basti monuments than that of Daulat Khan's. I am, thus, in favour of placing the Basti monuments sometime after 1506 A.D. and I find it difficult to accept 1488 A.D., a date which is commonly ascribed to them.

While trying to fix up an approximate date for the Basti monuments, I shall once more invite the attention of the reader to their close similarities with the Mandhi Masjid at Bagh-i-Nazir.[22] Their gateways, we have seen, are astonishingly similar (cf. Pls.58

22. See Plate 54d for location.

and 48a). The flights of steps leading to the tomb of Basti are almost the same as those of the gateway to the Mandhi Masjid. Both the mosques have arched doorways for staircases. The monuments, thus, appeal to me to be of the same period. Now that I have fixed 1507-8 A.D. as the approximate date for the Mandhi Masjid, the same date I would propose to fix as, of course, the approximate date for the Basti monuments. But, as I have already pointed out that the shape of the hanging balconies at the gateway of Basti and the angle kiosks of his tomb show a slightly later tendency, I suggest 1508 A.D. as the nearest possible date for this group of monuments.

As for the builder of the monuments, the only information available, and that is also from secondary sources, is that they belong to one Khwaja Sara Basti Khan who happened to be an influential eunuch[23] under Sikandar Shah Lodi. The name has not been mentioned by any of the Muslim historians or chroniclers who have dwelt on the period. However, the locality where these monuments stand is still known as Basti. It is otherwise known as Khwaja Sara. Tradition also conveys that the locality is so called after an influential eunuch of Sikandar Lodi's time whose name was Khwaja Sara Basti Khan and who lies buried in the tomb attached to his mosque and baoli in ruins there. In absence of any literary or otherwise evidence to disprove it, I think, we should go by this tradition.

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23. Stephen, p.164; Ashraf Husain, pp.48-49; Blakiston, vol.iv, p.20; "Khwaja Sara Basti Khan was a man of importance in the time of Sikandar Lodi." - says Rodgers, Revised, p.89.

Chapter XI

9. UKHA MINAR

At the north-east corner[1] of an old mosque at Bayána[2] stands an independent tower, now called Ukha Minar (Plate 67a). The mosque to which it is attached is known as Ukha Mandhir[3]. Near to it stands another mosque which is variously known as 'Ukha Masjid'[4] and 'Nohara'[5]. Built of dressed stone, the Minaret lies in a good order of preservation. The only literature that I have come across on this monument is in the 'Report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882 by Alexander Cunningham[6]. The two photographic materials (Plates 67a, b) were available to me from the India Office Library, London.

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1. 'At 32 feet to the north of the north-east corner of the Ukha Mandhir' - Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.73.
2. 'A town in the province of Agra, situated on the Buri Ganga river, 50 miles W.S.W. from the city of Agra. Lat. 26°57′N. long. 77°8′E.' - Hamilton, p.398. See map for location. Refer Ann.Rep. vol.xx, pp.60-79 for history and monuments; also N.W.P. Gazetteer, pp.585-6.
3. 'Ukha' appears to be the name of the daughter of Bana Asur of Hindu mythology. The mosque came to be so-called since its conversion into a Hindu temple.
4. According to an Arabic inscription, found in its gateway, the mosque is dated 720 A.H. = 1320 A.D. and is recorded to have been built during the reign of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah of Delhi. The name 'Ukha Masjid' appears to have been used for the first time by General Cunningham in 1882-83 A.D.
5. 'Nohara' means 'cattle yard'. This mosque was spared from being converted into a temple. It was, however, used as a shade for the cattle by the local non-Muslim inhabitants. In fact, General Cunningham has mentioned to have seen the cattle being tethered in the mosque in 1882-83 A.D. (vide. Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.71). Hence this name, Nohara.
6. vide. Ann.Rep., vol.xx, pp.73-74.

From the base to the top, the Ukha Minar is perfectly round in shape. It is 41 feet in height and 27 feet 6 inches in diameter at the base. The tower may be regarded as a vertical one; for, its negligible slope is not detectable to bare eyes. Due to this slope, however, the Minaret measures 26 feet at the top. towards the south-west of the Minaret is an entrance doorway which is 4 feet 9 inches wide (Plate 67b). The doorway is a lintelled one and, curiously enough, it has close resemblances with Hindu entrance doorways. Its scheme of decoration, however, does not include any Hindu motif nor animal figure. Simple running creeper of geometrical pattern and rosary beads decorate the frame of the doorway. The lintel of the doorway is relieved by a blind false arch set into a rectangular recess. Although a false arch, its form is remarkable because it shows that already at the end of the Lodi period there was a tendency of the arches towards ogee or keel which gained marked popularity under the Mughals. The tympanum of the arch is inscribed with verses from the Qurán. Below it is a long inscription of nine lines divided into two columns. It contains some Persian verses but has historical importance[7]; for, the third line of the inscription records the name of the builder and its date. This inscription tablet is crowned with a band of geometrical decorations carved on a slab of stone which serves the purpose of a lintel. Excepting only this spot, the Minaret is devoid of any decoration. A band of stone slabs of comparatively light colour runs around the Minaret. The surface does not appear to have ever had a coat of plaster.

The doorway-opening gives access to a spiral staircase in the interior of the Minaret (Plate 67b). The steps of the staircase are 6 feet in width and they take

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7. For the text of the whole inscription, refer Ann.Rep., vol.xx, pp.73-74.

to the top of the tower. The Minaret, as it is, does not show that it was ever crowned with a cupola or, at least, with a railing. But although the top of the tower was exposed to sun and shower, it could well be used for call to prayer. In fact, the inscription under notice records clearly that 'this Minar was built for the purpose of calling the faithful to prayer'[8].

Date and the builder:

As we have mentioned already, the historical inscription above the entrance doorway of the Minaret records the date of the monument and also the name of its builder. According to it, the tower was raised 'during the regime of Sháh Ibrahim bin Iskandar Buhlul Sháh' and that 'it was finished by his Highness Nizám Khán, the son of Mujáhid Khán by order of the shadow of God (i.e. the king) in the year of the Hijra 926'[9] which is equivalent to 1520 A.D.

Notice may be taken, in this connection, of a date carved by a mason on the floor of the Minar. The date is Samvat 1574, which began on the 23rd March 1517 A.D. "This date," comments Cunningham, "corresponds with the Hijra year 923, which began on Saturday, 24th January 1517. But, as Sikandar Lodi did not die until Sunday, the 17th Zilkada A.H. 923, or 21st November A.D. 1517, the mason's date of Samvat 1574 most probably refers to the end of the year, or shortly after the death of

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8. Ann. Rep., vol.xx, p.72.

9. Ibid.

Sikandar."[10] Cunningham's comments sound reasonable. But what does this date imply? I suggest that at the end of 1517 A.D. with Ibrahim Lod's coming to power, the foundation of the so-called Ukha Minar was laid at his order. The mason who carved it was possibly a non-Muslim and that is why the date is after Samvat and not Hijri. That the date is carved on the floor, inference may be drawn, that at the moment when this date was being carved only the floor or the plinth of the tower had been finished and that the mason himself was engaged in its foundation work. The construction took about four years and the date of the inscription tablet i.e. 1520 A.D. is the date of its completion.

Nizam Khan, the builder of the Minaret was the governor of Bayána. He continued his office till 933 A.H. = end of 1526 A.D. when, after frantic efforts to hold the Bayána fort against Babur, he made it over to the Mughals and retired to the Doab as a Jagirdar[11].

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10. Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.74.
It may be noted here that Cunningham seems to have depended on Badauni's information for the date of Sikandar Lodi's death (cf. Muntakháb, vol.i, p.425). But the Tarikh-i-Daudi (vide. Elliot and Dowson, vol.iv, p.471) and the Tarikh-i-Ferishta (vol.i, p.585) have Sunday, the 7th of Zil-kada A.H. 923. See Hodivala, p.472 for comments on the possibility of mistake by Badauni.

11. Babur-nama, vol.ii, pp.538-39.
According to Ferishta, 'Nizam Khan was confirmed in possession of Bayána (by Babur), which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, in consideration of his paying an annual tribute of twenty lacks of rupees.' (Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.ii, p.51).
But Babur-nama is, on this point, more dependable.

Chapter XII

MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE CONCLUDED

In the preceding chapters we have discussed the mosques raised under the Lodi dynasty and have broadly classified them into three : congregational mosques, wall mosques and mosques attached to tombs. Below is an attempt to summarise their characteristic features and to point out their place in the development of mosque architecture, specially, in India and Pakistan.

The Platform :

The Lodi mosques are all raised on a platform which is almost always rectangular in plan. The side of elongation is, however, not uniform. In case of the Jam-i-Masjid of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur and of Moth-ki-Masjid near Mubarakpur, for example, the platform is elongated towards east-west; whereas in case of the Mandhi Masjid at Bagh-i-Nazir, it is an oblong towards north-south. But square platform was not altogether out of practice. The Nili Masjid at Kharera is an instance in point. Platforms irregular in shape were also adopted e.g. the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi at Mehrauli and an unnamed mosque at Adchini. Raising the mosque on a platform had been already in the tradition of Islamic architecture within India and Pakistan as well as outside. The height of the platform was never uniform nor was it so in case of the Lodi mosques. Platforms in case of the mosques attached to tombs, however, were comparatively higher; but, certainly, the marked height of the Tughlaq platforms did not find favour with the Lodis who adopted comparatively lower platforms for their mosques. It is interesting to note that the face of these platforms is almost always pierced with arched openings set into rectangular panels. This

is a feature characteristic of Indo-Islamic architecture and it is futile to look for its origin outside India and Pakistan. Such vaulted openings are for the first time to be noticed in the monuments, specially mosques, of the Tughlaq period (late 14th century). They were continued by the Lodis and further developed. Finest specimens of this feature may be found in the Mandhi Masjid and the Moth-ki-Masjid. The feature gained more popularity under the Mughals who adopted it for their tomb architecture also. In fact, arched openings in the platform of the monument form one of the basic principles of Mughal tomb architecture e.g., the tomb of Humayun at Delhi (1565 A.D.), tomb of Akbar at Sikandra-Agra (1612-13 A.D.), tomb of Jahangir at Shahadra-Lahore (c. 1626 A.D.) and the tomb of Khan-i--Khanan at Nizamuddin, Delhi (1627 A.D.). In the Taj Mahal, Agra (1634 A.D.) the openings were replaced with blind arches but the panels were still maintained. The tomb of Safdar Jang, Delhi (c. 1750 A.D.) reverted again to the vaulted openings.

It is also interesting to observe that the four corners of these platforms bear, sometimes, semi-octagonal projections. Beyond the level of the platform, these projections to the western side have ended in angle-towers of the mosque at the rear and those towards the eastern side have, sometimes, canopied kiosks. The Mandhi Masjid and the Moth-ki-Masjid are the best instances in point. Such projections in the shape of corner towers seem originally to have been a characteristic feature of fort or palace architecture; but, as we know, both religious and secular monuments have been, irrespective of time, place or idiology, very liberal in give-and-take. To speak of the mosque architecture in India, the mosque-cum-tomb of Sultan Ghari (c. 1231 A.D.) seems to be the earliest existing example of this feature. The Tughlaqs were fond of this feature of which the Kalán Masjid bears the best

testimony. The feature appears to have gained great popularity in Bengal and in the Sáth Gunbad mosque (1440 A.D.) at Bagerhat, East Pakistan, it is most prominent. As representative specimens of this feature in other parts of India, mention may be made of the Shams Masjid at Nagaur in Central India (15th century?) and of the Jam-i-Masjid of Champanir (1485 A.D.) in West India[1]. But never before and nowhere the architect seems to have bothered about the angle towers so much as the Lodi. He got his expected result in the Moth-ki-Masjid. There he divided the hollow engaged-towers of the rear angles of the mosques into storeys and pierced them into arched openings. To the eastern angles he gave canopied kiosks. The same towers of the rear angles were continued in the Jamali Masjid, Mehrauli (1536 A.D.) and in the mosque of Sher Shah at Purána Qila (c. 1545 A.D.). Its final culmination was attained in the typical angle towers of the Gol Gunbad, Bijapur (1660 A.D.) in South India. As for the kiosks of the eastern angles, they grew larger under the Mughals until finally all the four angles of the platform of the famous Taj Mahal were adorned with tall tapering towers.

The Courtyard :

The Lodi mosques are, without exception, courtyard-type. The open courtyard is sometimes square in shape, sometimes rectangular or, else, irregular. The earliest mosques in Islamic architecture outside India-Pakistan are all courtyard-type e.g. the mosque of the Prophet at Madina and the mosques of Kufa,

1. In the provincial architecture of Jaunpur and Kashmir in North India and in South India as a whole round or, else, semi-octagonal projections at all the four angles of the platform do not appear to have gained root.

Basra, Jerusalem, Fustat, Kairawan, Damascus are all courtyard-type. So also are the 9th/10th century mosques of Cairo and Samarra. The courtyard was an integral part of an Arab dwelling and from there it seems to have passed into mosque architecture. Egyptian mosques are almost always courtyard-type. Covered-type mosques are most popular in Turkey. The mosques of Mahmud Pasha (1464 A.D.), Murad Pasha (1466 A.D.), Atik Pasha (1498 A.D.) etc. are typical examples of Turkish covered-type mosques which were contemporaneous with the Lodi mosques of India. From the 14th century onward, Turkish mosques were also being provided with courtyard- e.g. the mosques of Murad I (1363 A.D.) and of Yildrin at Bursa (1390 A.D.)[1a]. Persia favoured both the types but the courtyard-type was decidedly dominant. During the 15th century, covered-type mosques were also built in Persia e.g. the Masjid-i-Shah at Mashhad (1451 A.D.) and the Blue Mosque of Tabriz (1465 A.D.). In the tradition of Indo-Pakistani mosque architecture, the covered-type found hardly any popularity. It appears to be due to the climate of the country. In distant Bengal, however, Zafar Khan's mosque at Tribeni (c.1300 A.D. but thoroughly renovated in early 16th century) and the Sáth Gunbad Masjid at Bagerhat (1440 A.D.) may be treated as covered-type mosques. The Gunmant Masjid (c.1484 A.D.) and the Chhotta Sona Masjid (c.1510 A.D.) of Gaur, Bengal and some of the Ahmedabad and Champanir mosques belonging to the late 15th century offer a peculiar combination of the courtyard- and covered-type mosques. The only mosque in Indo-Islamic architecture which can be mentioned as a typical example of a covered-type mosque is the Jam-i-'Masjid of Gulbarga (1367 A.D.) of South India. This is,

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1a. But as my supervisor Professor Dr. K. Erdmann kindly pointed out, peculiarly to the Turkish mosque architecture, the courtyard there is rather an annex than an integral part of the mosque. 'Mosques with courtyard' rather than 'courtyard-type mosques' would be the more correct expression to use for such mosques.

in fact, a Persian monument[2] raised on Indian soil which did not prove, eventually, fertile enough for its multiplication.[3] At least the Lodi mosque architecture proved absolutely barren for this type of mosques.

The Enclosure :

The courtyard of a Lodi mosque is enclosed with low parapets, instead of walls[4]. This is a feature peculiar of Lodi mosque architecture. Normally, a courtyard-type mosque, - be it in India-Pakistan, in Spain, in North Africa, in Turkey or in Persia, - has arcaded cloisters or at least enclosure walls around the courtyard; whereas the Lodi mosques have low parapets. By this, perhaps, the architect wanted to exhibit the mosque proper to outside and expose the courtyard to light and air. He might have got his expected result; but, somehow, the feature enjoyed no subsequent appreciation. Indeed, the mosque proper and the gateway, being not connected with an enclosure, give a detached look and the group suffers blankness. The Mughals, the successors of the Lodis, therefore, preferred for their mosques enclosure walls with arcaded cloisters around the courtyard.

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2. Apart from the fact that the impact of Persian architecture was much more evident and direct on Islamic architecture of South India than that of the north during the pre-Mughal period, the architect of the Jam-i-Masjid of Gulbarga was himself a Persian. He hailed from Kazvin in Northern Persia.

3. The multi-domed Tughlaq mosques of Kali (1370 A.D.) and Khirki (1375 A.D.) at Delhi with cross-aisles on the courtyard, a feature which is nowhere else to be seen, lend an impression of covered-type mosques but they still remain fundamentally courtyard-type.

4. The walls enclosing the courtyard of the Jam-i-Masjid of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur belong, as I have argued already (see Chap.III, 112 fn.), to Islam Shah Sur (1545-54 A.D.) and not to Sikandar Shah Lodi (1489-1517 A.D.).

The Gateway :

On one side of the courtyard stands an imposing gateway. The side for the gateway is not fixed. Sometimes it stands to the south e.g. Khairpur mosque, sometimes to the east e.g. Moth-ki-Masjid whereas sometimes to the south-east as in case of the mosque of Basti or towards the north-east e.g. the mosque at Adchini. What is more interesting, the number of the gateway is never more than one. The courtyard-type mosques outside India, e.g. in Egypt as well as in Turkey, have almost always three passages at the middle of the three sides of the courtyard. But in Persia it became almost a convention with the courtyard-type mosques. In Indo-Islamic architecture, the first mosque, the Quwatu-'l-Islam mosque, Delhi (c. 1200 A.D.) was provided with three passages. The Tughlaq mosques of Begumpur, Kali and Khirki, the South Indian mosque of Gulbarga, for instance, followed the same convention. But we have examples of only one passage or gateway also in pre-Lodi mosques like the Kalán Masjid, Delhi, the Adina Mosque, Pandua (Bengal)[5] and so on. Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 A.D.) had actually planned to provide the Quwatu-'l-Islam mosque with five imposing gateways, of which only one, the Alai Darwaza, he could finish. The Lodis, however, adhered strictly to only one-gateway system. But never since the building of the Alai Darwaza (1305 A.D.) so much importance had been attached to the gateway architecture of a mosque as by the Lodis. The emphasis on the gateway was, sometimes, too much in the sense that it reduced the mosque itself to a subsidiary structure. It is the Bara Gunbad, for example, which dominates the Jam-i-Masjid at Khairpur and one may mistake the gateway to the mosque of Basti as the main structure. It cost the mosque its proportion.

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5. There are, however, three small doorways to the northern end of the Qibla side of the Adina Masjid, perhaps, for special or private use.

Later on, however, the Lodi architect seems to have realised this defect. In the two late Lodi mosques viz. the Mandhi Masjid and the Moth, therefore, the gateways are most imposing but they are free from overemphasis. This proportion was maintained by the Mughals even though they took to the convention of three-gateway system.

The eastern side of the Jam-i-Masjid of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur is enclosed with a third structure, a cloister which is often mentioned as an assembly hall. This structure, I have argued in its proper place, was meant for use by the caretakers of the mosque and of the garden on the spot[6]. I do not remember to have come across any other mosque in India and Pakistan with such a third structure raised on one side of the courtyard. As such, I repeat my contentions that the Khairpur mosque group formed a part of the famous Lodi gardens, the Bagh-i-Júd, the establishment of which required construction of this third structure[7]. The necessity being, thus, exceptional, the Khairpur mosque offers the solitary example of this feature.

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6. One may recall the Suffa raised on one side of the courtyard of the house-cum-mosque of Prophet Muhammad at Madina. This Suffa was meant for temporary accommodation of the poor refugees from Makka. An extra-structure called the Treasury House was also raised on the courtyard of the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus (early 8th century) for secular purpose. It is, however, futile to look for any possible connection between these structures and the so-called Assembly Hall of the Khairpur mosque.

7. Majlis Khanas (assembly halls) attached to the tombs of Shaikh Salauddin Darvesh (d. 1339-40 A.D.) and of Shaikh Alauddin (1534-35 A.D.) both at Shaikh Sarai, near Chiragh-i-Delhi and a Khanqah (Lodi period?) attached to a grave-yard near Bijay Mandal, Delhi bear, however, a different character.

The Arrangement for Ablution:

The Lodi mosques do not appear to have been provided with the arrangement, which is otherwise usual, for ablution in the centre of the courtyard. Instead, they seem to have had a well attached to their mosques for the purpose[8].

The mosques attached to tombs, e.g. the mosques of Daulat Khan Lodi and Basti have a Baoli or a reservoir attached to them. Similar Baolis with cell-like rooms arranged in storeys may be found in Delhi, Gujarat and Bayána already before the days of the Lodis. As I have already pointed out, the purpose of such cell-like rooms seems to be either that of a Tahkhana or summer-resort or, else, a Madrasa or a caravansarai. The water of the Baoli could naturally be used for ablution purpose.

The Maazina:

The Maazina or the arrangement for call to prayer in Lodi mosque architecture is an interesting point to discuss. Calling the Faithful to prayer from a Minaret or a tower called Maazina was in the very tradition of mosque architecture in general. The earliest mosques at Fustat, Kairawan, Damascus, Samarra had all Minarets for call to prayer[9]. Minarets more than one were also in the tradition of mosque architecture. Whereas the 8th-century mosque at Damascus had already four Minarets, multi-minarets were most popular in Turkey[10]. Two-minaret system

8. It is interesting to observe that the early eighth-century mosque at Jerusalem, the Masjidu-'l-Aqsa, had also a well attached to it for ablution.

9. The mosque of the Prophet at Madina, however, had the arrangement for call to prayer from the roof of a house nearby. The Minaret is a non-Arab feature of mosque architecture.

10. The Persian mosque of Bibi Khanam at Samarqand (finished in 1405 A.D.) had also eight Minarets.

and even double-headed minaret e.g., the mosque of al-Azhar at Cairo (c. 1501 A.D.), are to be found more in Egypt[11]. In Indo-Islamic architecture, the first mosque raised by the Muslims, the Quwatul Islam mosque (c. 1200 A.D.) was provided with a Minaret, the famous Qutb Minar[12]. Judged from its location outside the mosque area, it followed the examples of Samarra and Abu Dulaf. Its height (234 feet) recalls the height of the mosque of Sultan Hasan at Cairo (280 feet). In its treatment of the surface, the Qutb Minar followed the earlier monuments of North Persia e.g. the tomb-tower of Rayy (1139 A.D.), and the Minarets of Sava (1110 A.D.) and Sabzvar (1111 A.D.)[13]. The almost contemporary Minaret to the mosque at Koil followed the

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11. In Egypt the Minaret, at the early stage a plain and stumphy turret, became quite early in the 14th century a graceful tower in diminishing stages, the lowest one usually square, the others octagonal or polygonal terminating in a circular stage and often surmounted with a cupola.

12. The purpose of the Qutb Minar has been a great controversial study. Attached to a mosque, the tower should, normally, be taken for a Maazina. But it has been argued that the Minaret was built as a tower of victory. André Maricq (vide. Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan, vol. xvi, Paris, 1959, p.67) holds that it had originally been raised as a tomb-tower. It is not the proper place to enter into this controversy. I am, however, of the opinion that the Qutb Minar was built as a Maazina.

13. One of the points why André Maricq would call the Qutb Minar a tomb-tower is that its round and angular flutings are exactly the same as in the tomb-tower of Kishmar. But, I am afraid, there is a chronological objection to this point of argument. The tomb-tower of Kishmar was raised about a hundred years later than the Qutb Minar. It is, therefore, chronologically impossible that the architect of the Qutb Minar looked to the tomb-tower of Kishmar for inspirations. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the tower of Kishmar owed its alternate round-and-angular flutings to the Qutb Minar (c. Pope, Plate 347 B).

example of Qutb Minar. The Arhai-Din-ka-Jhompra mosque of Ajmer (c. 1210 A.D.) revised the location of the Minaret, raised the number into two and placed them on the portal of the central bay. But it maintained the flutings of the Qutb Minar. The Tughlaq mosque at Begampur (c. 1370 A.D.) followed its counterpart at Ajmer but accommodated the two Minarets within the portal. The portal was naturally lofty enough and lent a look of an Egyptian pro-pylon. The Jaunpur mosques (between 1400 and 1480 A.D.) almost copied Begampur. They, however, made the Minarets and, naturally, the portal also loftier still and they preferred angular to rounded finish. Almost about the same time the Gujarat architects in Western India were also constructing a pair of Minarets on the portal of their mosques. But there the portal was lowered. The towers were, thus, brought to prominence and then made to swing[14]. The Jam-i-Masjid of Ahmedabad (1423 A.D., the upper parts of the Minarets have now collapsed), Jam-i-Masjid at Champanir (1485 A.D.), Bai Hariri's Masjid at Asarwa (c. 1499 A.D.) and Rani-ki-Masjid of Ahmedabad (c.1515 A.D.) are typical examples of this feature. But the Gujarati architects built sometimes two hollow towers at the two ends of their mosques e.g. the mosque of Shah Alam (c. 1450 A.D.) and the mosque of Sidi Seyid (c. 1510-15 A.D.). Sometimes they adopted two tapering

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14. This is an interesting, I should say, curious feature of Gujarat mosque architecture. The two towers stand at the two ends of the portal. But if you push one of the towers with great force, the other will also swing with it. In April 1956 and again in January 1958, I had opportunities to experience it personally. Perhaps, there is some connection between the two towers. The towers are locally known as Jhulti Manára i.e. hanging or swinging towers. The feature seems to have originated in Persia.

solid towers also, e.g. the mosque of Rani Sipari (early 15th century)[15]. Of the Central Indian mosques, the thirteenth century (?) mosque at Nagaur in Rajputana, called the Shams Masjid offers the only example of a pre-Lodi mosque with two hollow towers at the two ends of the facade[16]. This is about the provision of Minarets for call to prayer in Indo-Islamic architecture before and during the Lodi period. But the discussion will remain incomplete if we do not mention that the number of mosques without any Minaret is not negligible in Indo-Islamic architecture of this time. The Jam-i-Masjid of Firoz Shah Tughlaq at his Kotila, Delhi (1345 A.D., now almost in ruins) is said to have arrangement for call to prayer from the roof. In North India, the timber mosques of Kashmir had no Minarets. The Central Indian mosques of Dhar and Mandu were also without any Minaret and same was the case with the East Indian mosques of Bengal[17]. No Minaret was raised

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15. It may not be out of place to mention here that the mosque architecture of Gujarat have close similarities with those of Turkey. The mosques are multi-domed. The domes are not elevated in the Egyptian or Persian manner. They spring suddenly from the roof and are somewhat dropped. They have four and, sometimes, six Minarets which end at the top not in a cupola but in a cone after Turkish fashion.

16. The base of the towers is a square and the second stage is an octagon. The remaining upper part is round, cylindrical and crowned with a cupola. Square-octagon-and-round was a striking feature with the Egyptian Minarets of the medieval period which had always a crowning cupola e.g. Madrasah of Sultan al-Nasir (1303 A.D.), Madrasa-Mausoleum of Salar and Sangar al-Gawali (1303/4 A.D.), Mosque of al-Hakim (c.1000 A.D.), Khanqah of Baybars (1310 A.D.) etc. etc. It is not the proper place to pursue this point nor is it safe to draw any conclusion out of it. I leave it with the interested reader, therefore, to pause and ponder. (Refer Creswell, Egypt, vols. i and ii).

17. An unnamed tower at Pandua (c.1340) and the Firoz Minar at Gaur (c. 1488 A.D.) in Bengal were victory--towers not Maazinas.

in South India for call to prayer during this period[18]. In such cases, where there was no Minaret, the Muazzin called to prayer from the roof of the mosque. Where there was no suitable staircase leading to the roof, he did so from some elevated spot on the courtyard. From this brief survey it will be clear that by the time when the Lodis were building their mosques, arrangement for call to prayer in Indo-Islamic architecture was either from the Minaret or from the roof or from the courtyard. The Lodis chose the roof of their mosques for the purpose. They provided their mosques with staircases leading to the roof, one in case of the Khairpur mosque and two in the mosques of Daulat Khan Lodi at Mehrauli, of Basti at Raipur-Khurd and in the Mandhi Masjid of Bagh-i-Nazir. The Nili Masjid at Kharera having no staircase leading to the roof, it seems, its courtyard was used for the purpose. The Moth-ki-Masjid maintained the two staircases approached through two doorways at the two ends of the facade but they led to two angle towers, hollow, double-storeyed and pierced, at the rear angles from where the Muazzin could call the Faithful to prayer. These angle-towers were, however, no independent Minarets[19]. But there is only one exception to this otherwise general practice, - the so-called Ukha Minar at Bayána which was raised in 1520 A.D. as a Maazina[20]. This tower is, as we have already seen, a very poor specimen of Minaret architecture. But nevertheless it is a highly interesting monument. As late as 1520 A.D., when Indo-Islamic architecture had already had a mighty tradition of tower architecture, it is rather surprising that such a humble

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18. The Chand Minar of Daulatabad (1435 A.D.) was a tower of victory and the Minaret of Mahmud Gavan at Bidar (1472 A.D.) was a tower attached to his Madrasa.

19. Minaret at the rear side of the mosque was nothing unusual. The Masjid-i-Gawhar Shad at Mashhad (1418 A.D.), for instance, had also this feature.

20. For description see Chap. IX ante.

tower should have been built. It defied the tradition set by the Qutb Minar. It had nothing to do with the Minarets of the Tughlaqs, of Jaunpur or of Gujarat, not to speak of the contemporary elegant Timurid and Safavid Minarets of Persia, Ottoman Minarets of Turkey or the Mamluke Minarets of Egypt. It is a plainly round one-storeyed tower without any taper and without any cupola. Some similarities of this Minaret may be observed with the lower storey of a tower in the fort of Bayána which seems to be of comparatively earlier date and that of the Firuz Minar, Gaur (1488 A.D.). But it is, indeed, very surprising that this humble Minaret of Bayána should be so near in stale to the Minaret of Sava (1110 A.D.) in Persia which is also round and without any slope. In fact, the slope in the Minarets of Persia is not to be seen before the eleventh century. Its resemblances with the Egyptian tower of Tabia at Aswan (1077-81 A.D.) are also striking[21]. But the so-called Ukha Minar, the only Minaret raised by the Lodis, remained the solitary example of its type in the whole history of Indo-Islamic architecture. After the Lodis, neither the Afghan Surs nor the early Mughals had any Minaret attached to their mosques. The Jamali Masjid of Mehrauli (1536 A.D.) and the mosque of Sher Shah at Purana Qila (c. 1545 A.D.) followed the Lodi arrangement for call to prayer. The mosques of Babur (1526-30 A.D.) at Panipath, of Humayun (1530-38 and 1555/56 A.D.) at Agra and of Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) at Fatehpur-Sikri are all with Minarets. But in these cases the Lodi arrangement was not followed. The call to prayer was given either from the courtyard or from the roof of the gateway. It was for Jahangir (1605-1627 A.D.) to introduce the Minaret in Mughal architecture in India and that also on the gateway of his father's tomb at Sikandar. Shah

21. The Sava Minaret has, however, geometric and calligraphic decorations while the tower of Tabia is not cylindrical; cf. Pope, Plate 358A and Creswell, Egypt, vol.i, Plate 122a.

Jahan (1628-57 A.D.) gave two Minarets to his Jam-i--Masjid of red sandstone at Delhi but not to his Moti Masjid of white marble at Agra. The Wazir Khan's mosque at Lahore (1634 A.D.) has four Minarets. Aurangzeb's (1657-1707 A.D.) mosque, the Badshahi mosque at Lahore, was also provided with two very stately Minarets. But the Mughal mosques of private nature and those attached to tombs e.g. the mosque attached to the Taj Mahal had no Minarets. To sum-up, the typical Lodi arrangement for call to prayer in mosque architecture appears to have ceased with the Purana Qila Masjid of Delhi (c. 1545 A.D.).

The Prayer-Chamber:

As usual of Indo-Islamic architecture, the prayer-chamber of the Lodi mosques lies towards the western side i.e. the Qibla side of the courtyard. The chamber is invariably rectangular in plan. In case of the congregational mosques e.g. the Khairpur mosque and the Moth, it is divided into five bays whereas those less congregational in character are divided into three e.g. the Nili Masjid, the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi and that of Basti. This rectangle for the prayer-chamber was almost a standard plan with mosque architecture in general. Of all the Moslem countries, however, Turkey seems to have favoured the square type most. The main prayer-chamber of the best Turkish mosques is square in plan. Of the many instances of this feature in Turkey, we may name the famous mosques of Bayazid II (1501-6 A.D.) and the great mosque of Suleimaniyah (1550-57 A.D.) of architect Sinán at Istanbul. The square type began in Turkey with the fourteenth century and became almost a standard plan for the Ottoman mosques. In Egypt as well as in Spain they are rectangular. But the cruciform plan was also in vogue in both the countries. The Persian architects adopted the rectangular type although some

of the early twelfth-century mosques e.g. the Jam-i--Masjids at Gulpayagan (Ardistan) and Qazvin belong to the square type (cf. Pope, Plates 277 and 280). In Indo-Islamic architecture, the mosques can be generalised as rectangular in plan. But there is, at least, one exception to it which may be found in Bengal[22]. There the mosques contemporaneous with the Lodis viz., the Chamkatti Masjid (c.1475 A.D.), Chika Masjid (c.1480 A.D.?) and the Lotton Masjid (c. 1480 A.D.) of Gaur are externally square in plan and octagonal internally. They have a rectangular annex in front. It is, indeed, surprising that with their inner octagon and the annex these mosques in distant Bengal, the like of which is to be found nowhere in India-Pakistan, should bear close resemblances with the tomb-chamber and the annex of Öljeitü (d. 1316 A.D.) at Sultaniya, and similar tomb architecture of Turkey e.g. the tombs of Kanuni Suleyman and Barbaros at Istanbul[23]. But these typical mosques of Bengal, although contemporary, did not have any link nor similarity with the mosque architecture of the Lodis who adopted the conventional rectangular plan.

The Mihrab:

The Mihrab of a Lodi mosque is a flat arched recess in the Qibla wall corresponding to the central bay. It is twice, and sometimes thrice, recessed and accommodated into a rectangular frame. Besides its geometric, floral and calligraphic decorations on plaster, notice may be

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22. The timber-mosque of Shah Hamadan at Srinagar, Kashmir, is also square in plan but we do not take notice of this monument because it belongs to a much later date than the Lodi (17th century).

23. Seen from the exterior, these Bengal mosques, with square plan and a portico in front, resemble closely with the fourteenth-century mosque of Daugandos at Karman which became the prototype of the Ottoman mosque architecture.

taken of a decorative lamp hanging on the flat recess e.g. the Khairpur Masjid and the Moth-ki-Masjid. This feature may be observed in the comparatively earlier and also contemporary mosques of Gujarat. The same feature may also be noticed in the Mihrab of the Masjid-i-Mir Chakmaq (1437 A.D.) at Yazd and in the 15th century congregational mosque at Abarquh in Persia (cf. Pope, Plates 403 and 449). In fact, the Lodi mosques and the Indo-Islamic mosques in general adopted the Persian Mihrab (cf. Pope, Plates 267, Masjid-i-Jami at Nayin and 322, Masjid-i-Jami at Ardistan)[24]. The Lodi Mihrab, in the shape of a flat recess in the wall continued, of course varying with the variations of material and technique, in the mosques of Jamali, Purana Qila, Khairul Manazil and even in the Jam-i-Mosque of Fathpur Sikri of Akbar, the Great Mughal. But Shah Jahan adopted a semi-octagonal recess in the wall which became almost a standard for the subsequent Mihrab architecture.

The Minbar:

The Minbar in a Lodi mosque is a low three-, four- or, else, five-stepped pulpit, placed, as usual, to the northern side of the Mihrab. Only the Jam-i-Mosques appear to have exceeded three steps e.g. the Minbar of the Moth-ki-Masjid has four steps and that of the Khairpur mosque has five. In case of the mosques attached to tombs the steps are three in number whereas the wall--mosques have no Minbar. On this point, it seems, the Lodis adhered to the orthodox Arab tradition of a low three-stepped pulpit used by the Prophet Muhammad himself in his mosque at Madina. In Egypt (e.g. the mosque

24. The Egyptian, Turkish and also Spanish Mihrabs are, with very few exceptions, almost always concaved in the wall and not flatly recessed as the Persian ones. This concaved niche may be found in Indo-Islamic architecture in the mosques of Bengal, specially, in the Adina Masjid of Pandua (1364 A.D.) and the mosque of Zafar Khan Ghazi at Tribeni (c. 1400 A.D.)

of Amr at Fustat of the 7th century, the Khanqah of Baybars of 1306-10 A.D. etc.), in Turkey (e.g. the Green Monque at Bursa, 1415-21 A.D.) and, sometimes, also in Persia (e.g. Masjid-i-Jami at Nayin, c.960 A.D., Masjid-i-Jami at Qazvin, 1113 A.D. etc.), the Minbar was abnormally high (9-12 steps). In Egypt and Turkey the high Minbar had also a canopied superstructure on it. But in Persia, in particular, the low Minbar was more popular. It is an interesting surprise that the same high Minbar appears in the mosques of Jaunpur, Gujarat, Mandu and Bengal. Even the canopied superstructure is to be seen, for instance, on the Minbar of the Adina Masjid of Bengal (1364 A.D.) and of the Jam-i-Masjid of Mandu (1440 A.D.). But these earlier and contemporary examples of lofty Minbars with canopied kiosks do not appear to have impressed the Lodis. They preferred low Minbar. Thus, once rejected by the Lodis, never again in the history of Indo-Islamic mosque architecture the high Minbar appears to have revived.

The Facade:

Dividing the facade of the mosque into a number of openings and the prayer-chamber into bays was a matter of convenience. No uniformity seems to have been rigidly maintained about it either in India-Pakistan or outside. Of the two earliest mosques of India, the Quwatul Islam mosque, Delhi (c.1200 A.D.) and the Arrhai-Din-ka-Jhompra Masjid at Ajmar (c.1210 A.D.), the former has a screen of five arched openings and the latter seven. The Khalji mosque at Jamaat Khana (early 14th century) has three arched-openings on the facade[25]. Multi-arched openings on the facade gave access to the multi bays of the Tughlaq mosques (late 14th century). In Bengal, Gujarat, Malwa, Multan, Jaunpur or the Deccan, - nowhere was the treatment of the facade of the mosque uniform. The Lodis, however, seem to have maintained, at least

25. Originally planned as a tomb, the two side bays of this monument are said to have been added later on with its conversion into a mosque (see C.H.I., vol.iii, p.583).

some uniformity about it. They divided the facade of their congregational mosques into five arched openings and those attached to tombs or of less congregational character into three[26]. After the Lodis, the same feature was adopted for the congregational mosques of Jamali (1236 A.D.) and Purána Qila (c. 1545 A.D.). The Mughals adopted the Lodi system of three-arched openings for the mosques attached to tombs and for those of somewhat private character but they divided the facade of their congregational mosques at their convenience into five (e.g. Jam-i-Masjid of Agra), six (e.g. Moti Masjid of Agra Fort), eleven (e.g. Jam-i--Masjid of Delhi and the Badshahi Masjid of Lahore) and even into multi arched openings (e.g. the Jam-i-Masjid of Fathpur Sikri). But in addition to the arched openings corresponding to the bays of the prayer-chamber, the Lodis pierced the facade of their mosques into two comparatively smaller door-way openings at the two ends for the staircases leading to the roof or to the angle-towers at the rear side of the mosque. This feature was an innovation of the Lodis in mosque architecture. But it did not survive them long. The Jamali Masjid of Mehrauli (1536 A.D.) appears to be the last monument to have continued this feature.

The Portal:

The congregational mosques of the Lodis have an imposing portal on the facade corresponding to the central bay. Emphasis on the middle of the facade by means of a projected and elevated portal was a very common feature with mosque architecture in general and so also

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26. In case of the wall-mosques, naturally, the facade of the Qibla wall itself was divided into a number of blind arched-panels at the convenience of the architect.

in India-Pakistan[27]. In Persia, the purpose of the Iwán or the portal was not only decorative to bring the nave into prominence but also that of a screen before the tunnel vault of the Liwan which would, otherwise, cost the facade its beauty[28]. Of course, the domed nave of a Persian mosque had also a portal on the facade. But the alcove of the Turkish portal crowned with a semi-dome does not appear to have been introduced in India before the days of the Mughals. In Indo-Islamic architecture, the screens of the early 12th century mosques had an elevation at the middle of the facade denoting the central bay. This served already as the precursor of the future development of the portal in India. The true portal may be said to date in India from the fourteenth century with the Tughlaq mosque at Begumpur. But there the portal looks prominent at the cost of the main structure. It is rather too high for the monument itself.

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27. It does not mean, however, that the portal is always to be found in the medieval mosque architecture. The 12th century mosques of Persia at Gulpayagan, Ardistan and Qazvin are not provided with any extra portal. The early mosques of Egypt e.g. the great mosque at Mahdiya, mosques of al-Hakim and al-Ghuyusi at Cairo etc. have no portal on the facade. Same are the cases with the Turkish mosques e.g. the Yildrim mosque at Bursa, Mihrimah mosque at Istanbul. In Indo-Islamic architecture also the mosques of Bengal (excepting the Adina Masjid), of Dhar and Mandu, the mosques of Shah Alam and Rani Sipari at Ahmedabad, the Jam-i-Masjid of Chanderi etc. are all without portal. Even the Lodi mosques attached to tombs have no portal. The Mihrabs of their wall-mosques, however, are made prominent by means of a blind portal.

28. Adina Masjid, Bengal (1364 A.D.) seems to be the only example of a mosque in the whole field of Indo-Islamic architecture with this typical Persian feature. Besides mosque architecture, however, portals hiding the barrel vault may also be seen in a gateway of Gaur, Bengal, called Dakhil Darwaza (1465 A.D.) and in the college of Mahmud Gavan (1472 A.D.) at Bidar in South India.

The Jaunpur architects followed the suit of the Tughlaqs (15th century)[29]. The Lodis lowered the height of their portal and brought it into harmony with the main structure. They also freed the portal from the engaged Minarets[30], which were shifted to the rear angles. Indeed, the portal received proportion in the hands of the Lodi architects. Thus once brought to proportion, the abnormally high portal of the Tughlaqs of Delhi and the Sharqis of Jaunpur disappeared from the Indo-Islamic mosque architecture for ever.

The Chhancha:

A line of eaves supported by brackets, the Chhancha as it is locally called, runs along the frieze of the facade of a Lodi mosque. Generally, it is interrupted by the portal at the middle. Nowhere else outside India-Pakistan are these eaves to be seen. Even in Indo-Islamic architecture, they are not to be found before the 14th century. This feature seems to have originated from India where the gabble of the roof was projected beyond the walls as protection against sun and shower. From the gable roofing of bamboo and straw, it had already been translated into stone and masonry before the advent of the Muslims in India. However, once introduced in Indo-Islamic architecture, the Muslims made continuous and very ixtensive use of this feature, specially, in Western, Northern and Central India. The

29. It has been often argued that the lofty portals of the Jaunpur mosques traced their origin from Egypt. The massiveness and the exterior slope have been pointed out as the points of resemblance. But, I am afraid, the contention cannot be accepted without reserve. The Egyptian mosques themselves do not appear to have had such lofty portals as in Jaunpur. The facade of the Kairawan mosque is lofty at the middle bent the height is that of the Minaret and not of the portal. Of course, the Egyptian pylons of pre-Islamic days give a look of the Jaunpur portals but I do not know if any link between them can be found out.

30. We have discussed this point under the subheading 'the Minaret' above.

Lodis continued this feature and passed it on to the Afghan Surs and the Mughals who not only translated the eaves into marble but also made them more elongated and got very satisfactory results.

The Hanging Balconies:

The exterior of the side walls of the Lodi mosques, otherwise left bare, are sometimes pierced with window-openings and provided with hanging balconies supported by brackets while, sometimes, they appear on the gate-ways of their mosques. These typical balconies are not to be seen in earlier or even contemporary Islamic architecture outside India. As such, I am in favour of treating these balconies as an indigenous feature of India. The earliest existing example of such balconies in Indo-Islamic architecture that I have come across are those in the college of Firuz Shah Tughlaq at Delhi (late 14th century). During the early 15th century they appeared in the Hindola Mahal of Mandu in Central India (c. 1425 A.D.) and then in the palace known as Kushk Mahall at Fathabad, near Chanderi (ca.1445 A.D.). The Jam-i-Masjid of Champanir in Western India (1485 A.D.) appears to be the earliest existing mosque in India with such hanging balconies. In about a decade's time in 1494 A.D. they were adopted by the Lodis for the first time in their mosque at Khairpur, and repeated in the Moth-ki-Masjid and the gateways of Basti Masjid and Mandhi. The feature became subsequently very popular under the Surs and the Mughals and also in the architecture of the provinces, - not only in the mosque but also in the tomb and secular architecture.

The Roof:

The Lodis must be credited with the introduction of a peculiar combination of the dome and the vault in the mosque architecture of Delhi. To speak of the tradition

of mosque architecture in India-Pakistan, the prayer-chambers of the earliest mosques are hypostile halls with trabeated roofing (e.g. the Quwatul Islam mosque, Delhi, (c. 1200 A.D.) and the Arhai-Din-ka-Jompra Masjid at Ajmer, (c. 1210 A.D.) and so also is the early 14th century mosque at Daulatabad in South India. The Khalji mosque of Jama'at Khana at Nizamuddin, Delhi (early 14th century) is roofed over by means of three domes corresponding to the three bays of the prayer-chamber[31]. The Jam-i-Masjid of Cambay (1325 A.D.) and the mosque of Hilal Khan Qazi at Dholka (1333 A.D.) in Western India seem to have followed the example of the Jamaat Khana Masjid. The Tughlaq mosques of Delhi (late 14th century) are multi-domed. The pre-Lodi mosques in other parts of India, in Bengal, Gujarat, Mandu and in the Deccan, are all multi-domed monuments[32]. About the same time when the Lodis were building their mosques in Delhi, the Bengali masons were constructing, either multi-domed (e.g. Gunmant Masjid (c. 1484 A.D.) and Chhota Sona Masjid (c.1510 A.D.) or single-domed mosques (e.g. Chamkatti c. 1475 A.D. and Lottan, c.1480 A.D. mosques). In Champanir and Ahmedabad, the masons were following the old Gujarati tradition. In Mandu itself no mosque worth-mentioning was built about this time but in Burhanpur, in South India, her style was being followed. About the same time the South Indian mosque of Bidar, the Sola Khamba, was constructed with its multi-domes and multi-bays. With this traditional background and contemporary surrounding of mosque architecture, the Lodis gave to their congregational mosques five bays but not five domes. In the Khairpur

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31. See fn. 25 ante.

32. The mosques of Dhar (early 15th century) are an exception to it. Built of spoils from Hindu temples, the prayer-chamber of the mosque of Kamal Maula and that of the Lát-ki-Masjid, for example, are hypostile halls with trabeated roofing and only one dome over the central bay.

mosque, the three bays at the middle were roofed over with three domes but the end bays, with rectangular vaults. In the Moth-ki-Masjid, the three domes were intervened with the vaults and, thus, alternate domes and vaults were used for the roof. It is true that domes and vaults had long been in the tradition of Persian mosques; but it is futile to look for any direct corelation between this typical vaults and domes of the Lodis and those of Persia. The characteristic Persian Iwán does not appear to have been adopted for any Indian mosque other than the Adina Masjid, Bengal (1364 A.D.)[33]. I would trace the origin of this alternate use of dome and vault by the Lodis directly from the comparatively earlier mosques of Jaunpur (e.g. the Atala Masjid, 1408 A.D. and the Jam-i-Masjid, 1470 A.D.). The Lodis of Delhi had, as we know[34], continuous feuds with the Sharqis of Jaunpur till 1479 A.D. when Jaunpur was reduced to a province of Delhi. The impact of Jaunpur on Delhi architecture is, therefore, not difficult to understand.

The Lodi mosques which were less congregational in character and, therefore, smaller in scale, had three bays for the prayer-chamber. Of them, the Nili Masjid and the Muhammadiwali Masjid have one dome for the nave and two shallow domical vaults, not rectangular in the manner of Khairpur or Moth, for the side bays. The other mosques are roofed over with shallow domical vaults in the ceiling which are externally flat.

The subsequent mosque architecture of, specially Northern, India adopted basically the alternate use of dome and vault for the roof. But with the exception of

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33. See fn. 28 ante.
The Lodi mosques are entirely different from the Turkish or Egyptian mosques in the treatment of the roof.

34. See Chapter I, Introduction.

one only mosque, the Jam-i-Mosque of Chanderi, near Lalitpur, the rectangular vaults visible on the roof of the Lodis do not appear to have been repeated. The single-domed mosques of Jamali and the Qila-i-Kohna, Delhi, seem to have followed the roofing system of the Nili Masjid even though their other basic features were borrowed from the Moth-ki-Masjid. The roofing system of the best Mughal mosques followed also the same line.

Of the other features of the Lodi mosque architecture, e.g. the parapets crowning the roof of the monuments and the rectangular projections to the exterior of the back wall, which we have already noticed while dealing with the monuments individually, are so common in Indo-Islamic mosque architecture that they do not call for any special treatment.

PART TWO

Tomb Architecture

Chapter XIII

A GENERAL SURVEY OF LODI TOMB ARCHITECTURE

As we have already mentioned in the introductory chapter, Friedrich Wetzel[1] has given us a very valuable study, I should say, the most valuable study ever attempted on the tomb architecture of India with special reference to Delhi, his period of study being from 1320 A.D. to 1540 A.D. Now, Delhi being the seat of the Lodi power, their tombs are also to be found mainly in and around the city and since they fall between 1451 A.D. to 1526 A.D., the monuments have mostly been covered by Wetzel. For descriptive details and technical aspects of the Lodi tombs covered by him, one can safely depend on Wetzel. Their repetitions being considered unnecessary, we are not going to deal with the descriptive details of each individual monument. We shall, however, single out a few major representative monuments for individual treatment in order to introduce the tomb architecture of the period to our reader. But, as we know, Friedrich Wetzel being a man of the technical side, he was rather more concerned with the technical aspects of the monuments than with their historical developments. Naturally, he did not try to date the undated tombs nor to identify them nor even to establish a sequence among the isolated monuments. These aspects will, therefore, be the main purpose of our present study of the Lodi tombs so that, subsidised by Fr. Wetzel's valuable contributions, a somewhat complete study of the Lodi tomb architecture may be available to the interested reader.

From their ground plan and overall setting, the Lodi tombs may be grouped into four: square, octagonal, canopied and hall type tombs.

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1. Islamische Grabbauten in Indien aus der Zeit der Soldatenkaiser 1320-1540 (Leipzig, 1919).

Most of the Lodi tombs are square in plan. Of them, the Shish Gunbad at Khairpur (Pl.87), the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad at Humayunpur (Pl.99) and the Tin Burj group of square tombs at Mubarakpur (Pl.104c), consisting of the so-called Bare Khan ka Gunbad, Chhote Khan ka Gunbad, Kale Khan ka Gunbad and Bhure Khan ka Gunbad, are from stylistic point of view and from their order of preservation the most interesting. The basic features of the square type Lodi tombs are almost all represented in one or the other of these monuments. We shall, therefore, devote separate chapters on them for discussion[2].

A few other Lodi tombs of the same type viz. the so-called Dadi ka and Poti ka Gunbads (Pl.114)[3], the Bara Khamba (Pl.118)[4] and a nameless tomb (Pl.117)[5] at Kharera, a group of square type tombs at Munirka (Pls. 119, 120, 121)[6], the so-called Munda Gunbad, also at Munirka (Pls. 122, 123)[7] - all at Delhi, bear distinct Lodi characteristics and I propose to place all these monuments during the Lodi period.

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2. See chapters XIV, XV and XVI infra.

3. 'Dadi ka Gunbad' means literally 'Grandmother's Dome' and 'Poti ka Gunbad', 'Grand-daughter's Dome'. The two tombs stand side by side some 200 yards outside the village of Kharera and to the west of the Delhi-Qutb Road. The identities of this grandmother or grand-daughter are not known. For description refer Wetzel, pp.61-64, Grab am Wege nach Haus-i-Chass; Blakiston, vol.iii, p.162, Bandi ka or Poti ka Gunbad and Biwi ka or Dadi ka Gunbad. It may be noted here that J.F. Blakiston has called them also 'Bandi ka Gunbad' i.e. 'Dome of the Maid' and 'Biwi ka Gunbad' i.e. 'Dome of the Mistress'.

4. Bara Khambha literally means 'Twelve Pillars'. The tomb is so called because it has three arched openings on all sides supported on twelve pillars. See Wetzel, pp.71-72 and Blakiston, vol.iii, p.163 for description.

5. See Wetzel, p.68.

6. See Wetzel, p.67, Gräbergruppe am Tank.

7. Munda Gunbad literally means 'Without Gunbad'. The monument has no roof. Hence this name. See Wetzel, p.56, Grab ohne Kuppel.

The surface of the 52 feet square tomb of Dadi ka Gunbad is divided into three-storeyed panels (Pls.112, 113a, c) almost in the same manner as that of the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad (cf. Pls.99 and 101a). Its engaged towers with flutings at the portal resemble those of the Bhure Khan ka Gunbad (cf. Pl.112a). The transition of its square tomb-chamber into the circle of the dome (Pl. 113b) is almost the same as in the Bare Khan ka Gunbad (cf. Pl.108). Two squinches placed one above the other for transition of this monument is a rare feature to be found in Indo-Islamic architecture (Pl.113b)[8]. Its elevated drum and slightly stilted dome suggest its late Lodi character, I mean, later than the Bare Khan ka Gunbad (c. 1486 A.D.) but not later than the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad (1501 A.D.).

The adjacent tomb, Poti ka Gunbad (Pl.113b right, 114a right, 114b left and 116 right) is comparatively a smaller structure (38 feet 10 inches square). It has got a thick coat of plaster on its surface in the manner of the Kale Khan ka Gunbad (cf. Pl.111a). The monument has got at least two peculiarities: its outer face is not divided into panels and its dome is crowned with a lantern like the tomb of Mubarak Shah Seyid at Delhi-Mubarakpur (d. 1434 A.D., cf. Pl.194). With its vertical walls and elevated extrados of the dome, however, the monument has to be placed during the Lodi period. Its features appear to be comparatively earlier than those of the Dadi ka Gunbad.

The Bara Khambha (34 feet 6 inches square) which stands at a visible distance from the Dadi ka and Poti ka Gunbads (Pl. 114b) has, at least, one remarkable

8. "Es ist besonders deswegen bemerkenswert, weil hier, und das ist meines Wissens der einzige Fall im Delhi-Gebiete, die Überführung des Grundrißvierecks zum Kuppelrund durch ein doppeltes System von über Eck gespannten Bogen gelöst wird." - stresses Wetzel (pp.61-62) about the transition of this monument. But, I am afraid, there is at least one more example of this system in the tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq at Delhi-Tughlaqabad (d. 1325 A.D., cf. Pl.117a).

feature to add. Its facade on all sides is pierced with tripple arches set into a huge arched-frame with a window-opening on the tympanum (Pl.118)[9]. Its inner walls are, however, divided into arched panels in three storeys carried up to the ring of the drum (Pl.118b). The dome is hemispherical. Its perpendicular walls, stilted arches and three storeyed inner niches are among its typical Lodi features.

The unnamed tomb at Kharera (Pl.117) follows the conventional line of the square type tombs of the time and it can be safely ascribed to the late Lodi period.

The above-mentioned square tombs at Munirka, Delhi, are very imposing structures by themselves but they have also not much to add to the usual features of tombs of the same type. The tomb to the north of the village (Pls. 121a, b) bears, however, one remarkable feature. This monument is one of the very few square type Lodi tombs raised on a huge platform, the face of which is recessed with flat niched panels and the angles marked with engaged towers. We have noticed similar platforms in the mosque architecture of the Lodis e.g. the Mandhi Masjid at Bagh-i-Nazir (Pl.48a) and the Moth-ki-Masjid near Mubarakpur (Pl.38). But usually a square type Lodi tomb has only a low plinth and not a large platform. It is possible that the tomb architecture adopted this feature from the mosque. We shall eventually see that one or two other square tombs of the Lodis and, specially, the octagonal tomb of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur were also provided with platforms. This became subsequently under the Mughals almost an indispensible feature with tomb architecture.

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9. I remember to have seen the same feature in one or two square type tombs, lying in ruins, at Zamarradpur, Delhi. These ruined monuments may also belong to the Lodi period. Unfortunately I could not collect any photograph of these monuments nor is there any literature available on them.

An unnamed Lodi tomb to the west of Munirka in the village of Muradabad-Pahari (Pl.121c)[10] needs special mention due to an inscription[11]. It records that the tomb was built by Mubarak Khan Nohani, the influential noble of Sikandar Shah Lodi in the year 901 A.H. = 1495 A.D. Apart from the fact that this inscription testifies to the authenticity of the date for such tombs, it is specially interesting because the tomb known as Kale Khan ka Gunbad (1481 A.D.) at Mubarakpur[12] has been identified by some as the tomb of Mubarak Khan Nohani or Lohani whereas this inscription shows that the same person was alive in 1495-6 A.D.

The so-called Munda Gunbad (Pls. 122, 123, 124a)[13] situated near the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad at Humayunpur, Delhi, is a fine specimen of a square type tomb of the Lodi period. The dome of this roofless tomb does not appear to have ever been completed. This monument has also a platform but not so large in scale as that of the Munirka tomb mentioned above (Tomb No.11). The building has followed the conventions of a typical Lodi tomb of square type. It is so well finished and its resemblances are so close with the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad that I propose to fix the date of the latter i.e. 1501 A.D. as the approximate date for this monument also[14].

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10. There are two tombs standing side by side. J.F. Blakiston has called the comparatively bigger tomb (32 feet 3 inches square) 'Bajre Khan ka Gunbad (Blakiston, vol.iv, p.65).

11. For the text of the inscription, refer Blakiston, vol.iv, p.66.

12. See chap.XVI, 'Kale Khan ka Gunbad' (No.5), infra.

13. See Wetzel, p.56.

14. The reconstruction by Wetzel (Pls.122c and 123) shows a semi-circular dome for the monument. I would suggest a slightly more elevated or stilted extrados for the dome as usual of the contemporary Lodi tombs (cf. e.g. Pls. 99, 101a and 102a).

An unidentified square tomb at Muhammadpur, Delhi (Pls. 124b, c)[15] has nothing new to add but we take notice of the convexed flutings on the extrados of its dome, a feature which is not too often to be seen in Lodi architecture. But otherwise its features are strongly Lodi in character. Similar flutings may, however, be observed in the central dome of the so-called tomb of Buhlul Lodi at Chiragh-i-Dehli (cf. Pl.139a) and that of an unidentified mosque behind the jail at Delhi (cf. Pl.139b).

Besides Delhi, at Kalpi[16] there are a few typical examples of Lodi square tombs viz. the tomb of Muhammad Shah Lodi[17] (Pl.129a), an unnamed tomb near the tomb of Muhammad Shah Lodi (Pl.129b), Munda Gunbad (Pl.129c), tomb of Sattar Salar (Pl.130a) and the tomb of Abul Fath (Pl.130b). Kalpi having been one of the most important strongholds of the Lodis, these tombs were raised during this period and their features quite corroborate to it. Apart from the common features of a square-type tomb, these monuments have, at least, two peculiarities to add: one, the outer surface of these tombs is not divided into a regular number of panels, and two, the extrados of the dome is very prominently stilted.

In the midst of the ruins at Sirhind[18], there is a very interesting square-type tomb known as Mir Mirán[19]

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15. See Wetzel, p.41

16. Lat.26°10′N. long.79°41′E, a large and populous town situated on south-west bank of the Jumna river. For history and monuments refer Ann.Rep., vol.xxi, pp.131-32; see Hamilton, p.379 for geography.

17. Muhammad Shah (or Khan) Lodi was placed in charge of Kalpi by Sultan Sikandar Shah Lodi at the very beginning of his reign. See C.H.I., vol.iii, p.236.

18. See chap.ii, fn.7 ante.

19. Mir Miran seems to be the name of the husband of Subhan, daughter of Sultan Buhlul Lodi. He was a saint and giving the hands of a princess to a celebrated saint was nothing abnormal in medieval India. The locality is still known as Mir Miran after the

(Pls. 131a, b, 132). It is built of red sand-stone and blue enamelled tiles have been used for decorations. Remains of some Hindu temple, e.g. pillars bodily shifted, have also been used. The tomb is a square of about 47 feet externally and 26 feet internally[20]. The monument is raised on a platform which is a square of 139 feet. The walls are 31 feet 6 inches high. Its beautifully curved elevated dome is supported by an octagonal drum each side of which measures 14 feet 9 inches[21]. Fortunately, a Persian inscription on the eastern wall of this tomb records, 'Shahzada Subhan, daughter of Buhlul Shah Sultan departed in the month of Safar, Friday, in the year 901 A.H. (= 1st November 1496 A.D.). This tomb was erected during the reign of the King of the world Sikandar Shah Sultan, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, in the year 902 A.H. (= 1496-7 A.D.)[22]. Whereas this monument bears many of the conventional features of the then square-type tombs, this inscription further confirms the characteristic features of the day[23]. But the monument is of particular

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name of the saint. The tomb has two graves. It appears that they belong to Subhan and her husband. See Rodgers, p.5.

20. '46 feet 9 inches square outside and 26 feet 4 inches inside' - Rodgers, Revised, p.55; '47 feet outside and 26 feet 4 inches inside' - Ann.Rep., vol.ii, p.209.

21. For these measurements I have depended on Charles Rodgers. Vide. Rodgers, Revised, p.55.
But I find it difficult to agree with Charles Rodgers when he calls the dome 'hemispherical' (ibid). It is a clearly elevated dome with bulbous look and, in fact, this is one of the most significant features of the monument.

22. See Rodgers, Revised, p.55.

23. Cunningham has described (Ann.Rep., vol.ii, p.209), "each of the four sides is pierced by a recessed doorway with a pointed arch..." But, in fact, the Qibla side of the monument is, as usual, not pierced, for it accommodates a symbolic Mihrab. That this side is not pierced can be verified from Plate 131b. Of the other common features, panelling of the surface and repetitions of the arches are notable.

interest due to some very remarkable features of its own. The roof of the monument has a square tower at each angle. These towers are not exactly similar as the usual canopied kiosks resting on pillars. They are 10 feet square towers of walls with arched recesses on the surface, parapets on the cornice and are surmounted with small domes on drums. This monument is a singular surviving example of such a feature in Lodi tomb architecture which played subsequently an important role in the development of Mughal tomb architecture. The remarkably elevated curvature of the dome is also an important feature to note for it hints clearly at the form that the later domes were going to take. Last but not the least is the fine finish of its surface. It is entirely built of stone but the architect has achieved the delicacy of brick-finish on red sand-stone[24].

At Sonepath[25] stands a square type tomb which represents the last stage of the Lodi tombs of the same type. This is the tomb of Khwaja Khizr Khan Shirwani (Pls. 133a, b and 134a, b). This imposing sand-stone structure bears a long inscription in Persian on its doorway[26]. As the inscription records, 'the tomb was built for the great saint, Miyan Khwaja Khizr, son of Darya Khan ..... Zamindar of the town of Sonepath and was completed during the regime of .... Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim Shah, son of Sikandar Shah..... by the order of Langar Khan Khizr on the 15th Rajab .... A.H. 930 (= 1523-4 A.D.). The portico or the gateway of the tomb

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24. It may be mentioned here that most of the other monuments of Sirhind are built of brick. Persia preferred brick to stone, one of the reasons of which was that hard stone could not give the fineness of soft brick. It is possible that Persia had an impact on the architecture of Sirhind about this time.

25. Sonepath is situated only 29 miles north of Delhi.

26. For the text of the inscription refer P.A.S.B., 1873, p.95, reading by Blochmann.

bears another inscription of historical importance which records the date 15th Shawal 928 A.H. (= 1520-21 A.D.). The two dates mean, perhaps, that in 1520-21 A.D. the construction was taken up when Khwaja Khizr died and in 1523-24 it was completed. Darya Khan Sharwani, father of Khizr Khan Sharwani, was an influential noble of the time of Sikandar Shah. Khwaja Khizr who was also a prominent noble retired from politics and turned into a saint. The builder was Langar Khan Khizr, another noble of importance who appears to have been a relative of Khwaja Khizr. The tomb and the gateway are of special interest due to the large platform which became a characteristic feature of late Lodi tomb architecture, the small niches resembling the Kulungis in Hindu temples and houses and the beautiful canopy on slender columns on the portico. All these features were continued and further developed by the Mughals.

The octagonal type of tombs does not seem to have gained popularity in Lodi architecture, although during the first half of the 15th century before the Lodis and also during the first of the 16th century after them, the finest specimens of tomb architecture in India are octagonal in plan. But notwithstanding the fact that the Lodi kings erected only one octagonal tomb, the tomb of Sikandar Shah Lodi at Delhi-Khairpur, the monument is one of the few best examples of the type of architecture of medieval India. We shall devote a separate chapter on this monument for detailed discussion[27].

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27. See chap.XVI infra. Mention of Alam Khan's tomb at Tejara follows.

The canopied type of tombs was mostly raised attached to a mosque. We have already mentioned two such tombs, one of Daulat Khan Lodi attached to his mosque at Delhi-Mihrauli[28] and the other of Basti Khan attached to his mosque at Delhi-Raipur Khurd[29]. The tomb of Daulat Khan is a canopied structure of twelve pillars raised on a square plinth (1 foot 2 inches high) on the courtyard of the said mosque (Pls. 62a, b)[30]. The tomb is a square of 18 feet and the dome rests on a sixteen-sided drum which is decorated with blue tiles. While the basic material is grey granite, red sand-stone has been used for the frieze above the eaves. We have dwelt already on the inscription of the tomb in chapter IX and discussed its date which is 1506 A.D. and its builder, Daulat Khan Lodi.

The other structure, the tomb of Sara Basti Khan (Pl.57) is a similar canopy of pillars and cupola. Its peculiarity is that it is raised on a platform which is 46 feet square and 16 feet high. The face of the platform is pierced with arched cells and its floor is accessible from the eastern side where, at the middle, two flights of steps lead to an external terrace i.e. an annex on which stands a tent canopy - exactly the same canopy on the annex of Sikandar Lodi's tomb at Khairpur (cf. Pls. 156 and 157). A walled gateway takes to the floor of the platform at the centre of which is the canopied tomb of Khwaja Sara Basti Khan. At the four angles of the platform stood, originally, four Chhatris or kiosks of which only one survives today. The tomb proper is raised on a 3 feet high plinth which is a square of 21 feet. As a canopied tomb, the monument has nothing very important to add. But its overall setting is remarkable. The tomb at the centre of a raised platform with four kiosks at

28. See chap. IX ante.

29. See chap. X ante.

30. For description see also Wetzel, pp.21-22; Blakiston, vol.iii, p.102 and Stephen, p.169.

the angles and an annex provided with a tent-canopy and two flights of steps is an arrangement which was, in principle, adopted for the tomb of Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur (Pl.153b), an unidentified tomb at Munirka (Pl.121a) and the tomb of Khwaja Khizr at Sonepath (Pl.133) and it continued to play an important part in the development of Mughal tomb architecture. We have fixed its approximate date for 1508 A.D. while dealing with the mosque, gateway and the reservoir attached to it in chapter X.[31]

At Delhi-Mubarakpur, some 350 yards to the south-west of the Tin Burj group of monuments, in the village of Ghatu Sarai is a big platform measuring about 98 feet square. Each corner of the platform is marked by a canopied kiosk and in the centre is a circular plinth (diameter 31 feet and height 3 feet) on which is an uninscribed grave ascribed to Darya Khan Lohani, son of Mubarak Khan Lohani (Pls. 80a, b)[32]. This circular plinth in the centre had, I think, originally a canopied structure which seems to have collapsed. The plan of the tomb follows, in principle, the tomb of Basti Khan. In the available literature there is no mention on what authority it has been ascribed to Darya Khan Lohani who was a general of Sikandar Lodi and was later on raised to the position of his Vakil[33]. He died during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi. The architecture of the monument, specially its plan and arrangement seem, however, to agree with the late Lodi style.

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31. See also Athár, p.25; Stephen, p.165 and Blakiston, vol.iv, p.20 for description.

32. Blakiston, vol.iv, pp.30-31; Fanshawe, p.249 and Ashraf Husain, p.50.

33. See Elliot and Dowson, vol.iv, p.442 and 454; Ashraf Husain, p.50 and C.H.I. This Darya Khan should not be confused with Darya Khan Lodi, cousin of Buhlul and governor of Sambhal who had at first opposed Buhlul's coming to power and was later on reconciled.

In the locality of Zamarradpur, Delhi, there is one such group of five canopied tombs in the village of Kanchpur[34]. The group is locally known as 'Panj Burj' ('Five Domed-structures')[35]. In these pavillions, Zamarrad Khan and his family members are said to have been buried. But the identity of Zarrad Khan has remained obscure even today[36]. "It is said that they were built by Sikandar Lodi about 1488 A.D." - says Charles Rodgers[37]. These pavillions, however, follow the same line of the groups of canopied tombs mentioned above and have no special feature to add.

Similar tombs with no special significance may also be found in a group of three tombs at Hissar viz. the tomb of Saint Mahmud Chisti, the date of which according to an inscription is 891 A.H. = 1486 A.D., the tomb of the tutor of Junaid, son of Chandan, the date of which is recorded by an inscription as 927 A.H. = 1521 A.D. and the tomb of Junaid, son of Mahmud Chandan, on which also an inscription records its date for 931 A.H. = 1524-25 A.D.[38].

Before we finish with the canopied tomb architecture of the Lodis, notice may be taken of a tomb of the same type on the courtyard of Langar Khan's tomb. This

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34. Unfortunately, no photograph of this group of tombs was available to me.

35. See Stephen, pp.163-4 for description.

36. Cf. Athár, p.24, where Seyid Ahmad Khan says, "It is not known who Zamarrad Khan was and when these tombs were built ... All that can be said is that they are as old as the Pathan period."

37. Rodgers, Revised, p.89.
Sikandar Lodi came to power in 1889 A.D. So building this monument as the reigning Sultan in 1888 A.D. would, at least, one yaar toi early.

38. For the texts of the inscriptions refer Rodgers/Revised pp.65-66. Unfortunately, no photograph of the monuments was available to me.

square (23 feet 5 inches square) tomb shows very distinct Lodi characteristics (Pl.136a). Use of blue tiles on it is also a notable common feature with Lodi tomb architecture.

The canopied tombs having nothing exceptional to add, we are not going to deal with them separately.

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We have mentioned a fourth type of Lodi tombs, the hall-type. Two monuments which are said to be of the Lodi period, but neither their dates nor identifications are certain, may be placed under this category. One of these two tombs is the so-called tomb of Buhlul Lodi at Chiragh-i-Dehli and the other, Chaurasi Gunbad at Kalpi. Placement of the former monument during the Lodi period appears to be almost conclusive. We shall devote a separate chapter on this monument[39].

The Chaurasi Gunbad[40] is undoubtedly one of the few most impressive tombs with Lodi characteristics (Pl.203). E.W. Smith has already published an article on this monument in the Journal of Indian Art[41]. The drawings supplied by him are indeed of great value (Pls.204-211). To avoid repetitions, we shall not describe the minute details of the monument here but take notice only of its salient features. This gigantic tomb

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39. See chap. XVIII infra.

40. Chaurasi Gunbad means literally 'Eighty-four domes'. The monument is so called due to its many domes and vaults. In fact, it has one gigantic dome at the centre, four small domes at the angles, four pierced Chhatris with tent-roofing at the middle of each side and thirty-two small groined vaults.

41. See J.I.A., No.42 (April, 1893), article on 'Chaurasi Gunbad' by E.W. Smith, pp.49-50.
See also Ann.Rep. vol.xxi, p.131.

(about 116 feet square) stands in the centre of a square open courtyard surrounded by enclosure walls with arcaded cloisters. At the middle of each side of the enclosure is a gateway giving access to the courtyard (Pl.204). On a low outer platform, now in ruins, stands the square tomb each face of which is pierced with seven arched openings recessed thrice. The angles are marked by solid tapering towers which bear richly carved decorations (Pl.207). The facade on each side is shaded with a line of eaves supported on brackets and the cornice is crowned with blind parapets. At the centre of the roof is a huge elevated dome on a rather unusually high drum[42]. Each angle of the roof has a comparatively smaller dome and there is a square Chhatri with tent-roofing at the middle of each side. The rest of the roof is externally flat. Internally, the tomb is a hypostile hall of sixty pillars. Apart from the domes and Chhatris mentioned above, the pillars support thirty-two groined vaults which are externally filled-up. The tomb-chamber at the centre of the building consists of two cenotaphs, the central one appearing to be of the person for whom the tomb was originally meant. There are several other graves in the tomb which seem to have been later on accommodated. The transition of the dome has taken place by means of pendentives. Internally as well as externally the monument is profusely decorated with carvings and stucco. Dentils, leaves, scrolls, flowers and geometrical patterns are the motifs of ornamentation (Pls. 208, 209, 210 and 211). The building bears no inscriptions. The basic material for construction is rubble. For carved ornamentations red sand-stone has been used.

The monument has not yet been identified. E.W. Smith has placed it roughly towards the end of the

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42. But, for a monument at Kalpi this height was not unusual (cf. Pls.129a and 130b).

fifteenth century[43]. Sir John Marshall has casually mentioned that the tomb 'is reputed to be the resting--place of one of the Lodi kings but of which one there is no record[44]. Percy Brown has also said, " ... the Chaurasi Gunbad ... is a tomb believed to be of one of the Lodi kings ..."[45]. Now, as the Lodi dynasty had only three kings viz. Buhlul, Sikandar and Ibrahim and as we know their tombs at Delhi and at Panipath (Pls. 87, 151 and 149), no Lodi king appears to have been buried in this monument.

Now, Kalpi was an important Pargana-headquarter[46] under the Lodi kings of which almost always a royal prince was in charge. Sometimes these princes behaved as independent rulers. In fact, prince Azam Humayun was placed in absolute authority over Kalpi by his grandfather, Sultan Buhlul Lodi immediately before his death in 1489 A.D.[47]. But Azam Humayun was soon dispossessed of his fiefs by Sultan Sikandar Lodi immediately after his accession and the prince died in disgrace[48]. Muhammad Shah (or Khan) Lodi succeeded Azam Humayun in charge of Kalpi whose tomb is still to be seen in Kalpi (Pl. 129a). His successor, the powerful Jalal Khan Lodi who seems to have been a brother of the reigning Sultan, Sikandar, had also a very short hold on Kalpi and he also died in custody at Utgir[49]. In 1508 A.D. the prince Jalal Khan, son of Sikandar got Kalpi as a Jagir or fief

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43. J.I.A., No.42,

44. vide. C.H.I., vol.iii, p.642

45. Brown, p.30.

46. Nimatullah has called it a Suba or province (Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, p.70).

47. See Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, p.561 and Makhzan-i--Afghani, pt.i, p.54.

48. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, p.568
Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, p.56

49. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, pp.580-81.
Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, pp.62-63.
For Utgir see chap.II ante, fn.27

from his father[50]. This prince continued almost undisturbed in possession of Kalpi for over nine years when in 1517 A.D. after the death of his father he revolted against his brother Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and declared independence at Kalpi. But this gesture was very short-lived for in 1518 A.D. the prince was forced to take to heels and was ultimately put to death by the king[51]. From this time onward Kalpi sank into unimportance till the end of Lodi period when in 1527 A.D. Alam Khan surrendered the keys of Kalpi to the Mughal Babur[52]. Thus, excepting only the period of peaceful possession of Kalpi by Prince Jalal Khan for about nine years (1508-17 A.D.), the conditions of Kalpi up to the end of the Lodi period do not impress to have been quite favourable for the construction of such a gigantic piece of architecture like the Chaurasi Gunbad. It is true that the monument bears some Lodi features, for instance, arches with repetitions and domes with high drums and elevated extrados. But extensive carved and stucco decorations - and not incised plaster decorations - are rather unusual of a typical Lodi monument. The motifs of decorations in this monument look also a bit too developed for the Lodis. The tent domes are but a late Lodi feature. Groined vaults and the overall setting of the monument speak, if at all, of a very late Lodi characteristic. Compared to the late 15th century Lodi monuments, the features of the Chaurasi Gunbad appear to be rather too developed. I find it difficult therefore, to place the monument towards the end of the fifteenth century. Of course, from the enclosed type Lodi tombs e.g. an unnamed tomb at Delhi-Munirka (Pls.121a,b)

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50. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, pp.580-81, Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, p.64.

51. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, 591-94, Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, pp.71-75, Erskine, vol.i, p.410.

52. Baburnama, vol.ii, p.544

and the tomb of Sikandar Lodi at Delhi-Khairpur (Pl.154), development of the plan of the Chaurasi Gunbad does not seem improbable. But it is difficult to conceive of such a plan already towards the end of the fifteenth century. To me, the fag end of the Lodi days and even the beginning of the Mughal period impress as the more suitable time for the architecture of the Chaurasi Gunbad. In fact, although the Lodis had lost power they were building gigantic tombs even after the establishment of the Mughal dynasty in India. An instance in point is the huge octagonal tomb at Tejara (outer dimensions 128 feet in breadth and about 120 feet in height) which is said to have been built by Alauddin Alam Shah, brother of Sikandar Lodi during the reign of the Mughal emperor Humayun (Pl.201)[53]. Thus whereas the twenties of the 16th century strike me to be the more probable date for this monument, we may fix the early sixteenth century as its approximate date. Indeed with the reminiscences of Lodi architecture and as the precursor of the Mughal features, Chaurasi Gunbad quite fits in the period.

But leaving aside its minute details and the controversy about its exact date and identification, the Chaurasi Gunbad remains basically a Lodi monument. As such its groundplan and overall setting are features the significance of which on the subsequent development of tomb architecture under the Mughals in India can hardly be over-estimated. In short, it can safely be said that almost all the major Mughal tombs followed, in principle, the groundplan and setting of the Lodi tomb of Chaurasi Gunbad.

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53. See Ann.Rep., vol.xx, pp.115-116.
Alam Khan of Kalpi and Alauddin Alam Khan of Tejara should not be confused. The former was the son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi and the latter was his (Sikandar's) brother. See Hodivala, p.439.

We shall take notice of two more Lodi tombs which, strictly speaking, do not belong to any of the above-mentioned categories. One of them is the tomb of Langar Khan at Zamarradpur, Delhi. The monument is generally ascribed to the time of Sikandar Shah Lodi[54]. It lies in utter ruins today (Pl.136b). But a sketch of the tomb supplied by Seyid Ahmad Khan in 1847 A.D. (Pl.135a) shows that the tomb had originally a cross-plan with the main dome at the centre and four subsidiary domes at the four wings of the cross. The monument seems to have had very close resemblances with the comparatively earlier tomb of the mother of Zainul Abedin at Kashmir which was built between 1420 and 1470 A.D. (cf. Pl.135b). The tomb in its original state, if the sketch by Seyid Ahmad can be relied upon, must have been one of the finest specimens of Lodi tomb architecture[55]. The builder or the occupier of the tomb, Langar Khan, seems to have been a noble during the time of Sikandar Lodi and also of Ibrahim Lodi. This is, perhaps, the same Langar Khan who was responsible for the construction of the tomb of Khwaja Khizr at Sonepat in the year 930 A.H. = 1523 A.D.[56]. If so, the monument should be dated later than the time of Sikandar Lodi.

The other monument is the tomb of the four Qutbs at Hansi (Pl.78). An inscription declares the construction of this tomb of the saint, Qutb Jamaluddin, in 903 A.H. = 1497 A.D. by one Raza Ali during the regime of Sikandar Lodi[57]. This monument is a peculiar open rectangular

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54. See Athár, p.24; Blakiston, vol.iv, p.21 and Rodgers, Revised, p.89.

55. See Athár, p.24. The author, Seyid Ahmad Khan, mentions to have seen a very high cenotaph in this tomb the top of which he could not reach by hand. This is a feature which was rather common in Western India. J.F. Blakiston (vol.iv, p.21) describes only the canopied tomb on the courtyard of Langar Khan's tomb (Pl.136a). Perhaps, by the time when Blakiston was writing i.e. by 1921 the main tomb had already collapsed.

56. P.A.S.B.,1873, pp.94-95.See also fns.25 and 26 above.

57. See Ann.Rep., vol.xxiii, p.14.

structure of ten pillars supporting four domes in a row, looking like four canopied tombs taken together. Since it looks like an open verandah, we may call it 'verandah type'. In tomb architecture the monument does not seem to have gained popularity. Its semi-circular domes, however, show that Hansi did not adopt the height of the drum and stilted elevation of the extrados of the other contemporary Lodi monuments at Delhi, Kalpi and Sirhind.

Before we close our survey of Lodi tomb architecture, a few words may be added clarifying why, at least, three other monuments, which are said to be Lodi or bear Lodi characteristics, have not been covered in our present study. One is the tomb or, I should say, grave of Ibrahim Lodi, the last Sultan of the dynasty, at Panipat (Pl.149). The structure is only a platform of ordinary bricks with a grave on it. To the north of it is a well bearing an inscription in Urdu on a marble slab which ascribes the grave to Ibrahim Lodi[58]. Apart from the fact that a marble inscription written in the Urdu language must be a much later insertion, its very authenticity is doubtful. It is true that Ibrahim Lodi was killed in the battlefield of Panipat and when his body was discovered in a heap of about five or six thousand corpses, his head was cut off and brought to Babur[59]. It is also said that Babur praised the valour of Ibrahim and asked to bury his body on the spot where he died[60].

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58. See Rodgers, Revised, p.69 for the text of the inscription. Also note Rodgers' comment, 'This inscription has two gross mistakes in it. Babur's name was Zahiruddin, not Ghiyasuddin. The battle was fought in 932 A.H., not in 934. Moreover, the grave of Ibrahim Lodi was not on this spot at all.' These mistakes, I should think, speak not only of the ignorance of the writer but also of a much later character of the inscription.

59. See Babur-nama, vol.ii, p.474-5; Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, p.599; Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, p.79 and Erskine, vol.i, p.437.

60. See Babur-nama, vol.ii, p.474, fn.1.

But nowhere it is mentioned nor is it expected that Babur raised any tomb for Ibrahim[61]. In this connection the dying regrets of Sher Shah Sur (1538-1545 A.D.) are important to note. This Afghan ruler regretted on his death-bed in 1545 A.D. that he had a mind to raise a tomb on Ibrahim Lodi's grave at Panipat but his wish was never fulfilled[62]. This shows that, at least, up to 1545 A.D. there was no monument on the grave of Ibrahim Lodi. The present monument of no architectural significance at Panipat is, therefore, a later construction, most possibly built by the Afghans who regarded Ibrahim Lodi as a Shahid or a martyr[63]. This explains why we have not included the so-called tomb of Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat (Pl.141) in our study.

The second monument is the tomb of Makhdum Jahaniya at Kanauj (Pl.145a)[64]. The date of this monument, according to an inscription, is 881 A.H. = 1476 A.D.[65]. But as we have argued already in connection with the mosque of Jahaniya, his square tomb at Kanauj is altogether different in style from the Lodi[66]. Its close resemblances with the tomb of Husang at Mandu (ca.1440 A.D.) are, however, remarkable (cf. Pl.145b). We have, therefore, left this monument outside the scope of our discussion on the Lodi tomb architecture.

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61. Babur, however, built a mosque at Panipat (Pls.73-75) after his victory. But this mosque has been so much renovated that its original features can hardly be traced.

62. See Tarikh-i- Khan-i-Jahan Lodi vide. Elliot and Dowson, vol.v, pp.108-9. See also Babur-nama, vol.ii, p.472, note 1 by Mrs. A.S. Beveridge.

63. See Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, p.79 and also note by Erskine at p.437 of his vol.i.

64. See chap. II, fn.36 ante.

65. See chap. II, fn.37 ante.

66. See chap. II ante, 'Mosque of Jahaniya'.

The third and the last monument is the tomb built by Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi at Tejara (Pl.196)[67]. This huge octagonal tomb is, beyond doubt, Lodi in style and its impact on the later octagonal tomb architecture under the Sur dynasty (1538-55 A.D.) is immense. We shall, of course, take notice of its significance in the development of tomb architecture in India but since it was built as late as the days of Humayun, the Mughal emperor (1530-55 A.D.), we are not going to deal with it separately.

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67. Unfortunately, no photograph of this monument was available to me.
See Ann.Rep., vol.xx, pp.114-116 for description.

Chapter XIV

SQUARE-TYPE TOMBS

1. SHISH GUNBAD

A square-type tomb, called Shish Gunbad[1] (Plate 87), is situated some 50 yards to the north of the Jam-i--Masjid of Sikandar Lodi and the Bara Gunbad in the Lodi Gardens at Khairpur, Old Delhi (Plates 1a and 1b). To the north-east of the Shish Gunbad is an octagonal tomb ascribed to Sikandar Lodi and to the south-west is the tomb of Muhammad Shah Seyid (d. 1434 A.D.). While Shish Gunbad literally means 'glazed dome', the monument is so called because of the glazed or enamelled tiles used on its surface. The basic material for construction is rubble cased externally with blocks of dressed stone. The kind of stone used for the background is granite. Only red stone has been used for the spandrels whereas the bands are of blue glazed tiles as well as red stone. "These glazed tiles are of two colours - a light blue and a dark blue."[2] The tiles are 9 inches square on average. The monument lies in a good order of preservation. Its identification has not yet been made nor has its date been fixed.

The Shish Gunbad measures externally 57 feet 8 inches square[3] (Plate 91b). The plinth, which is of un-

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1. When and by whom was this name given to the monument is not known. But, certainly, this is a posthumous name. So far the available literature is concerned, Sir John Marshall appears to have used this name for the first time in 1928 A.D. (vide. C.H.I., vol.iii, p.595).

2. Ann. Rep., vol.xx, p.158; Fanshawe, p.244.

3. Ibid.

dressed granite of irregular shape and is raised 10 feet above the ground, is crowned with a projected band of stone running horizontally around the monument. The face of the plinth is not pierced with vaulted opeinings. The middle of the facade on each side is stressed with a portal. On either side of the portal, the facade is divided into four arched panels which are flatly recessed in the wall and set into rectangular frames. The panels are arranged into two storeys, each storey being distinguished from the other by a horizontal band of stone. Of these panels, those of the upper storey are pierced with small window-openings and those of the lower storey just adjacent to the portal, excepting only those on the western side, are but open windows (Plates 87, 88 and 89)[4]. The portals on the three sides of the building, - to the north, south and the east, - are pierced with corbelled doorways which are spanned with richly carved brackets of stone (Plates 92a and 93). The corbelled doorways are accommodated in a rectangular frame which is set into a huge arched panel recessed ultimately into the rectangular frame of the portal (Plate 87). A window-opening in the tympanum of the huge arched panel relieves the corbelled doorway (Plate 92). The frieze of the portal is decorated with a row of small square panels (Plate 92b)[5]. Above the frieze is a projected band and a line of blind parapets with two solid turrets or Guldastas at the top. Whereas the facade on all the three sides are uniform in treatment, the western wall is different (Plates 88a, 89a and 91a). This side has also a rectangular projection but it has no doorway

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4. Striking similarities may be observed in the surface treatment of the Bara Gunbad (Plates 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29) and the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad (Plate 99).

5. In case of the Khairpur mosque (Pl.7), the Bara Gunbad (Pl.25) and the Moth-ki-Masjid (Pl.39), these panels cover all the three sides of the portal.

opening nor windows. It resembles the back side of a mosque corresponding to the Mihrab rather than the portal of a gateway. The explanation is that the western wall i.e. the Qibla wall of a tomb usually accommodates a symbolic Mihrab in the interior[6]. This difference is significant because it distinguishes a square-type tomb from a square-type gateway which look alike and lead to confusion. At least, there was one confusion about it and that was in case of the Bara Gunbad[7].

The exterior of the building is crowned with a projected band, blind parapets, and Guldastas at the angles in keeping with those of the portals. The roof can be reached by means of two staircases built in the thickness of the eastern wall which are accessible through the eastern doorway (Plate 91b). Seen externally, the monument is surmounted with a dome resting on a sixteen-sided drum which is about 11 feet 9 inches high[8]. The drum of the Shish Gunbad is comparatively lower than that of the Bara Gunbad which is 15 feet 9 inches in height[9]. It is also crowned with a horizontal band and a row of blind parapets. The rise of the dome is slightly stilted but the curve of the extrados is suddenly dropped. Compared to the lofty domes of the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad and the Bara Gunbad, the dome of the Shish Gunbad looks somewhat suppressed. The dome was once crowned with a lotus finial only the base of which remains today.

"The tomb", presumes J.F. Blakiston[10], "was probably plastered externally in former days." It is

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6. See chap.iii, 108 fn ante for further explanation.
7. We have discussed the point in its proper place (chap. iii ante).
8. According to Wetzel (p.55), 3,6 m.
9. Cf. chap.iii, 55 fn ante.
10. Blakiston, vol,ii, p.36.

possible that the surface was covered with plaster where undressed granite of irregular shape and size was used, specially, in the lower part of the plinth. But the rest of the exterior, where ashlar and coloured stones have been used and where, particularly, glazed tiles have been set, does not appear to have once been covered with plaster. The stones were dressed, the colours were chosen and the tiles were paid for not to be hidden behind plaster but to be exposed to the visitors of the monument.

Internally, the tomb chamber is a square of 33 feet[11]. As the ground-plan drawn by Wetzel (Pl.91b) shows, the chamber contains seven graves. One of the graves bears a Qalamdan or a headstone. This grave with headstone appears to be the main grave containing the remains apparently of a male person for whom the tomb was raised. The other graves seem to belong to his near relatives who were buried by his side later on[12]. The walls of the interior are plainly plastered over. Only decorative niches recessed in the walls remain to break the otherwise monotonous effect of the interior (Pls.96a and 97a). At each angle of the square of the room is a pair of flat niched recesses (Pl.94a). The wall towards the western i.e. the Qibla side contains a symbolic Mihrab (Pls.94b and 95a). The square of the chamber recedes into an octagon by means of squinches

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11. Blakiston, vol.ii, p.36 and Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.158. According to Wetzel (p.54), '10 m im Quadrat'.

12. Wetzel, Abb.145 and 146; but both Blakiston (vol.ii, p.36) and Ashraf Husain (p.47) have eight graves. While Blakiston wrote in the same year as Wetzel (1919 A.D.) and Ashraf Husain much later (1936 A.D.), I could not account for this difference. We may, however, ignore this trifling difference.
    It may be mentioned here that the cenotaph of a Moslem woman bears generally a takht or a plain slab of stone whereas that of a man is raised conically. One can thus distinguish between a grave of a male person and that of a female.

at the four angles (Pl.96b). The remaining four sides of this octagon which correspond to the axes of the four walls are also recessed internally with arched niches keeping symmetry with the squinches (Pls.95b and 96b). The transition from this octagon to the next sixteen-sided stage, which is the drum of the dome itself, has taken place by means of struts (Pl.95b). The internal surface of the sixteen-sided drum is also relieved with flat arched recesses in harmony with those of the lower stage. Further struts have been used for the next stage of thirty-two sides which merges gradually into the circle of the dome. The intrados of the dome bears decorative ribs on plaster with a round disc in the centre. While the disc itself looks like a full moon the ribs around have a stellate form. The whole effect is that of rays and sparks being diffused from the moon and star at the hemisphere of the dome (Pl.97b).

While the exterior of the building bears no inscription at all, the interior is inscribed sparingly with Qur'ánic verses and names and attributes of God which have no historical importance[13].

The date and the builder:

We have seen above that the Shish Gunbad bears no historical inscription recording its date or the name of its builder. Of the scholars who have dealt with the archaeology of Delhi up to now, Seyid Ahmad Khan, J.D. Beglar, Carr Stephen and John Terry - none have made any mention, whatsoever, of this monument even though they have dealt with the Khairpur buildings[14].

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13. Refer Ashraf Husain, p.47.

14. Cf. Athár, p.89; Ann.Rep., vol.iv, pp.67-69; Stephen, p.170 and p.196 and Terry, p.31. It is rather surprising that an imposing monument like the Shish Gunbad should not have at all been mentioned by these scholars dealing with Delhi archaeology.

Harcourt writing in 1870 A.D. proposed to place this monument sometime before the Lodis and even before the Seyid period i.e. before 1414 A.D. "I am led to this conclusion by the style of the building which is quite distinct from the Lodi period ....." says Harcourt in support of his opinion[15]. In 1885, Cunningham attempted to identify Shish Gunbad and said, "..... from its position I judge it to be the resting-place of some relative of the builder of the masjid" (i.e. the Khairpur mosque which he regarded as a Lodi monument)[16]. Charles Rodgers[17] in 1891 held, "Learned men differ in their opinions as to the period when these tombs[18] were built. The northern (i.e. the Shish Gunbad) is said to be that of Ibrahim Lodi; but his tomb is at Panipat." Rodgers did not pursue the point further. In 1919 wrote J.F. Blakiston, "It is not known who erected this building or who is buried here, but its position seems to indicate that it is the resting place of some one connected with the mosque or the Lodi family."[19] In the same year, Friedrich Wetzel gave a very useful study of this monument but he attempted neither fixation of date nor identification of the builder or the person buried[20]. "To the south (of the tomb of Sikandar

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15. Harcourt, p.96
While holding this opinion, Harcourt has unfortunately not substantiated his views nor clarified in what sense the Shish Gunbad is a building quite different from the Lodi period and why he would place the monument before 1414 A.D. If he meant to ascribe it to the Tughlaq period (1320 to 1413 A.D.) or still earlier, I am afraid, it is an impossible proposition. But credit goes to Harcourt that he was one of the earliest, if not the earliest, scholar to have at all attempted fixation of date for this monument.

16. Ann. Rep., vol.xx, p.158.

17. Rodgers, Revised, p.90.

18. The author means the Shish Gunbad and the Bara Gunbad i.e. the gateway to the Khairpur mosque which he mistook for a tomb.

19. Blakiston, vol.ii, p.36.

20. Cf. Wetzel, pp.54-56.

Lodi) is a noble but nameless tomb (Shish Gunbad)", narrated H. Sharp[21] in 1921 but the footnote he added is of more importance to me than the text itself. "Villagers have assured me that this and not the building at Roshan Chiragh Delhi, is really the tomb of Bahlol Lodi. But there is no reason to credit this story," - he commented[22]. H. Sharp, therefore, would not accept the Shish Gunbad as the tomb of Buhlul Lodi. Why? - he did not explain. He did not attempt either any identification of the monument. Seven years later (1928), Gordon Hearn identified the Shish Gunbad as the tomb of Ibrahim Lodi[23]. In the same year, Sir John Marshall doubted the identification of the monument at Chiragh-i-Delhi as the tomb of Buhlul Lodi[24]. But he did not try to find out the real tomb of the Sultan. As for the Shish Gunbad, he treated the monument as a tomb of some Lodi noble[25]. While dealing with the inscriptions of the Shish Gunbad, Maulvi Ashraf Husain (1936) has observed, "Nothing is so far known about

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21. Sharp, p.72.

22. Ibid., fn.
Even though the author himself did not attach any weight to this information, I do not think that it can be at once rejected as useless. It is true that hearsay spreads, sometimes, fantastic rumours but it is equally true that they form an important source of history by way of tradition. We shall eventually see that this hearsay was not idle gossip but had really foundation of truth behind it.

23. Hearn, p.63.
The author has given no clarification, whatsoever, in favour of his views. That Ibrahim Lodi died in action at the battlefield of Panipath (1526 A.D.) and was buried there cannot be doubted. Identification of Shish Gunbad as his tomb, therefore, is difficult to accept.

24. C.H.I., vol.iii, p.594, fn.1. "Its identity is far from certain." - he said.

25. Ibid., p.595.

the person buried in this tomb, but its architecture being very similar to that of the Bara Gunbad, it may well be assigned to the Lodi period."[26] At last in 1942, Percy Brown gave the monument a rough date, - the 15th century[27]. But as he has called it a Lodi tomb, it is evident that he meant late 15th century.

We have seen above how confusing are the available literature about the date and identification of the Shish Gunbad. But fortunately, the scholars are unanimous[28], at least, in placing the monument during the Lodi period. Indeed with its materials, plan and setting, its type of the arch, shape of the dome and treatment of the surface, its decoration, transition and its very location, Shish Gunbad has but to be placed during the Lodi period.

Now, in our attempts to approach the nearest possible date for the monument, we may take into consideration Bagh-i-Alamka Gunbad (Pl.99), another square type Lodi tomb at Humayunpur, Delhi, the date of which is 906 A.H. = 1501 A.D. according to an inscription. Belonging to the same type and to the same period, the two monuments have very close resemblances. But analysed architecturally, the differences are very considerable. Among other points of difference, the shape of the dome is the most formidable. The dome of the Shish Gunbad is a stilted, drop one; that of the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad is not stilted and boldly curved. It is lofty enough to lead to the optical illusion of a double dome. This speaks of a comparatively later date for the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad and its date being 1501 A.D., I propose to place Shish Gunbad sometime before

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26. Ashraf Husain, p.47.

27. Brown, p.28 and ibid, Plate XVI, fig.1.

28. Only Harcourt is an exception to it. We have already discussed his views above. See 15 fn. ante.

this date[29]. Its similarities with the arches and domes of the Khairpur mosque are so close that it is difficult to deny the date of the mosque i.e. 1494 A.D. also to the Shish Gunbad.

We shall now consider the location and identification of the Shish Gunbad which may help our attempts to be more exact about its date. We have discussed already[30] that the Khairpur group of monuments of which the Shish Gunbad is one, stand where there was a garden of the Lodis, called Bagh-i-Jud. In this garden both Buhlul Lodi and Sikandar Lodi are mentioned by the Muslim historians to have been buried[31]. It is also mentioned that Sikandar Lodi himself raised the tomb in the Bagh-i-Jud for his father[32]. It appears from the memoirs of the Mughal emperor, Babur also that he had seen the tombs of Buhlul and Sikandar in the same garden[33]. Now, if the area of the Khairpur monuments is accepted as the spot where the Bagh-i-Jud stood, if the identification of the monument adjacent to the Shish Gunbad as the tomb of Sikandar Lodi is accepted and if the authenticity of the information furnished by the Muslim historians that Buhlul and Sikandar were buried in the same garden is also accepted, we must look for the tomb of Buhlul Lodi near to that of Sikandar. While so doing, the Shish Gunbad strikes me as the monument where the body of Buhlul Lodi could have been

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29. Some scholars have pointed out the resemblances between the Shish Gunbad and the Bara Gunbad, and proposed to fix the same date for the two monuments. But as we have discussed already (chap.iii ante), the Bara Gunbad is nearer in style to the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad rather than to the Shish Gunbad. As such I would not fix the date of the Bara Gunbad (1502 A.D.) also for the Shish Gunbad. Shish Gunbad appears to be an earlier monument.

30. See chap.iii, ante, subheading 'Date, builder and purpose of the buildings.'

31. See chap.iii ante, 115 fn.

32. See chap.iii ante, 114 fn.

33. See chap.iii ante, 72 fn.

deposited by his son, Sikandar. Shish Gunbad is, indeed, one of the richest tombs ever raised by the Lodis. It fits in the founder of the dynasty, Buhlul, as its occupier and also the greatest of the Lodi kings, Sikandar, as its builder. Compared to this, the monument hitherto identified as the tomb of Buhlul Lodi at Chiragh-i-Delhi is rather too humble for Buhlul Lodi as the man buried and also for Sikandar Lodi as the builder[34]. If Sultan Buhlul was buried in the famous garden of Bagh-i-Jud, it is really difficult to conceive of the existence of such a garden around the so-called tomb of Buhlul Lodi at Chiragh-i-Delhi. It is, in fact, a neglected monument standing outside the enclosure of the shrine of the saint, Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi and there is no monument nearby which can be identified as the tomb of Sultan Sikandar. I am, therefore, unable to accept the identification of the monument at Chiragh-i-Delhi by some scholars and also by the Department of Indian Archaeology as the tomb of Buhlul Lodi, and I propose to identify the famous Shish Gunbad as the tomb of Sultan Buhlul Lodi[35] built by his son, Sultan Sikandar Shah Lodi.

Now that Buhlul Lodi died in July 1489 A.D. and that in all probability, Sikandar Lodi took up the construction of this tomb soon after his accession in the same month of the same year, I am in favour of fixing end of 1489 A.D. as the date for the Shish Gunbad.

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34. See fn.21 ante.
S.H.Hodivala has in fact appealed to the writers on the archaeology of Delhi to take up identification of Buhlul Lod's tomb. Hodivala, p.272.

35. I would suggest that Sultan Buhlul Lodi is in eternal sleep in the main grave with headstone and the other graves belong to the members of the royal family.

Chapter XV

2. BAGH-I-ALAM KA GUNBAD

In the village of Humayunpur, about five hundred yards to the north-east of Haus Khas, Delhi[1], is an interesting square-type tomb, locally known as Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad (Plate 99)[2]. The tomb is built of rubble with the casing of dressed granite. The surface is covered with a coat of plaster where there is no casing of dressed stone, for instance, the exterior of the dome and that of the plinth. Red sand-stone has been used for the bands, frames and the Mihrab. The remnants of rosettes show that white marble was also used for decoration. The inscription tablet on the tympanum of the western arch is of black marble (Pl.100b). The building is in a good order of preservation.

As a square-type building, Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad measures externally 54 feet 8 inches on each side (Pl.101b). In its general treatment, the monument follows the principles of the other Lodi tombs of the same type. The facade has a portal at the middle of each side, which projects about 1 foot 4 inches beyond the line of the surface wall (Pl.100a)[3]. The surface of the walls is divided into niched panels arranged into three storeys (Pl.102a)[4]. Excepting only on the Qibla side,

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1. See Plate 1a for location of Haus Khas.
2. While Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad literally means 'Dome in the garden of Alam', it seems, there was a garden in the locality, called 'Bagh-i-Alam' from which the tomb derived its name.
3. 40 cm, according to Wetzel (p.64).
4. We have noticed two storeys or stages of such panels in the Shish Gunbad (Pl.87) and the Bara Gunbad (Pl.25). Bara Khan ka Gunbad, another Lodi tomb at Mubarakpur has also three storeys of panels (Pl.104a).

the portals of the other three sides are each pierced with a corbelled doorway (Pls.99b and 100a) which is relieved by a small window-opening above (Pl.100b). As it is a tomb, the Qibla side is not pierced at the middle with a doorway (Pls.99a and 100a) while it accommodates a symbolic Mihrab at the interior (Pl.100c). The Mihrab of this monument is much more elaborate in scheme than that of the Shish Gunbad. It looks more like a Mihrab of a congregational mosque. The decorative lamp and chain motif on the flat recess of the Mihrab recalls that in the Khairpur mosque Mihrab. The tomb-chamber consists of five graves, two for grown-up persons and three for minor children[5]. The cenotaphs are in ruins and irrecognisable. The biggest one seems, however, to be of Shihabu-'d-Din Taj Khan (Pl.101b). The transition from square to round has taken place by means of the usual squinch and the intrados of the dome is very richly decorated with discs and ribs (Pl.103) containing geometrical patterns and inscriptions of non-historical character[6]. The plinth, the panels, the parapets and the projected bands and portals are features very common with the other square-type buildings of the period of which we have already described the Bara Gunbad[7] and the Shish Gunbad[8]. Their repetition being not considered necessary, we shall not enter into their descriptive details.[9] Mention, however, should be made of its beautiful finial which remains still in tact.

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5. The centotaph of a grave of a child is, naturally, much smaller than that of a grown-up person.
6. For the non-historical inscriptions of the monument refer Ashraf Husain, pp.79-80.
7. See chap.iii ante.
8. See tomb no.1 above.
9. For a description study of this monument refer Wetzel, pp.64-67, and Blakiston, vol.iii, p.187. See also Stephen, p.158; C.H.I., vol.iii, pp.595-6, and Brown, pp.28-29 for casual references.

Of the significant features of the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad, the most important and debatable point is the dome. Sir John Marshall has credited this monument with the 'invention' of the double dome for the first time in the architecture of Delhi[10]. Percy Brown's views further confirmed the above contentions of Sir John Marshall when he also held that the dome of Shihabu-'d--Din Taj Khan is composed of two shells and credited the monument with the first application of this technique in the history of Indian architecture[11]. Both the scholars hold that the Mughals inherited the technique of a double dome from the Lodis[12]. The opinions having not so far been refuted seem to have been accepted by those who are interested in the archaeology of India

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10. ".... the single domes of some of the Khalji and Tughlaq monument are as perfectly formed asany in the world. But when the design of the structure was such as to necessitate the dome being elevated on a lofty drum, the interior forthwith became stilted and disproporionately high in comparison with its width. It was with a view to correct this fault that the separate inner and outer domes were devised. The invention, which at Delhi made its appearance for the first time in the tomb of Shihab--ud-din Taj Khan (A.D.1501) and a little later was repeated in this tomb of Sikandar Shah, played, as we shall see later, an all important part in the evolution of Mughal architecture, which but for it could never have achieved such wonderful symmetry." - Marshall, vide C.H.I., vol.iii, p.595.
    We shall examine the above statement of Sir John Marshall with regard to the tomb of Sikandar Lodi in its proper place. See chap. XV supra.

11. "..... Here (i.e. in the tomb of Sikandar Shah) the dome is composed of an inner and outer shell of masonry with a distinct space between the two, in a word it is the first application in Indian architecture of what is known as a double dome. An attempt in this direction had already been made in the construction of a tomb of a slightly eallier date, that of Shihab-ud-din Taj Khan (A.D. 1501), but in the tomb of Sikandar Lodi (c.1518) the double dome, although still in embryo becomes an accomplished fact ....". Brown, p.28.

12. Cf. C.H.I., vol.iii, p.595 and Brown, p.28.

and Pakistan. Let us attempt below a critical study on this point.

Viewed externally, the dome of the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad marks, indeed, a definite stage in the history of Indo-Islamic architecture (Pl.99). The lofty dome with a boldly curved extrados and a raised shoulder[13] lends a most pleasing effect which had never before been achieved in the sub-continent. All the earlier domes sprang either suddenly from the base or from a low drum or were stilted and depressed. Marshall and Brown are justified in appreciating this wonderful result achieved by the architect of Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad. But, I am afraid, the result has been arrived at not by adopting two separate, one inner and one outer, shells or crusts for the dome. Instead, it has been accomplished by means of a filling process. As the drawing of the elevation of the monument and the sections of the dome at Plates 101a and 101c will show[14], the dome has basically only one shallow shell of masonry composed of voussoirs at the interior. The exterior of this shell is thickly filled up with rubble and finally coated with plaster. It is, in fact, one solid shell and there is no vacant space within as Percy Brown holds. While the intrados of the shell keeps proportion with the interior of the building, the process of external filling has so cleverly been accomplished that it is bound to lead to an optical illusion of a double dome. This speaks of the anxiety of the Lodi architect to overcome the defects of a stilted drop dome and to give to the monument a more

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13. 3,20 m high according to Wetzel (p.66).

14. I doubt if drawings of the monument showing constructional details of the dome were available to either Marshall or Brown. This valuable drawing drawn by Wetzel shows clearly that the dome has no two separate shells with 'a distinct space between'. I had opportunities to visit the monument several times. Through a big hole in the dome towards the western side I tried to find out if there was an independent outer crust. There was none. It was all rubble and plaster and a composite whole.

imposing exterior but not at the cost of a disproportionate interior. He got his desired result by the process of filling but technically it was not sound. The thick crust of the dome was rather too heavy for the monument. In Indo-Islamic architecture, it remained for the Mughals to give to the problem a scientific solution by introducing two independent shells for the dome with a vacant space in between. The tomb of Humayun at Delhi (1565 A.D.) is, perhaps, the first monument with this feature which had long been known to the architects of Persia, Iraq and Western Asia. We have, however, to admit that the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad marks a significant stage in the process of architectural development from which the double dome was bound to emerge in India.

The date and the builder:

We have noticed above an inscription on black marble in the tympanum of the western arch (Pls.100b and 102b)[15]. The inscription is in defective Persian prose and the lettering is Naskh in character. It has got immense historical value, for it records the date of the monument, its occupier and its builder. It reads:

بناء این عمارت در عهد دولت سلطان الاعظم
سکندر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه این گنبد میان
شیخ شهاب الدین تاج خان سلطان ابو سعید
تاریخ بستم ماه رمضان سنه ست و تسعمایة *

15. The inscription tablet measures 3 feet by 1 foot 1 inch. It consists of two lines. It seems to have escaped notice of Fr. Wetzel.

The above inscription may be rendered into English as follows:

'This building was erected during the reign of the great king Sikandar Shah Sultan - may God perpetuate his kingdom! This dome of Shaikh Shihabu-'d-Din Taj Khan (was built by) Sultán Abu Sayeed on the twentieth of the month of Ramadan in the year nine hundred and six (= 9th April 1501 A.D.)'[16]. Unfortunately, the identities of both Shihabu-'d-Din Taj Khan and of Sultan Sayeed are not known. In all probability, they were men of importance flourishing during the reign of Sikandar Lodi[17]. But from this inscription we know for certain, at least, that the building was erected in 1501 A.D. This date is important not only for our study of this monument but also for the fixation of date for other undated monuments of the time[18].

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16. Cf. readings of Seyid Ahmad Khan (Athár, p.85), Stephen (p.158), Zafar Hasan (p.3) and by Blakiston (vol.iii, p.187). See Pl.102b for a facsimile of the inscription published by Zafar Hasan.

17. One Taj Khan is mentioned as '... one of Sultan Sekunder Lodi's chief Omras, and commander and governor of the fort of Chunar ...' by Ni'matullah, the author of Makhzan-i-Afghani (pt.i, p.99). But this Taj Khan was killed by one of his sons in the fort of Chunar 'about the end of Baber's reign, or the beginning of that of Humayun' (Erskine, vol.ii, p.131) i.e. ca. 1530 A.D. It was the widow of this Taj Khan who married Sher Khan Sur and made over the fort of Chunar to him (Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.ii, p.110). What is more, his full name was Taj Khan Sarangkhani, not Shihabuddin Taj Khan. He was the son of Jilal Khan Sarangkhani who had been 'one of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's great Amirs'. (Erskine, vol.ii, p.131, fn.). Perhaps, there were two Taj Khans - Shihabuddin Taj Khan, one of Sikandar Lodi's chief Omras who died ca. 1501 A.D. and Taj Khan Sarangkhani, governor of Chunar who died in ca. 1530 A.D. In any case, I would not ascribe Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad (1501 A.D.) to Taj Khan Sarangkhani (died ca.1530 A.D.)

18. Our attempts to fix up the dates for Bara Gunbad and Shish Gunbad above were based on the date of Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad.

C h a p t e r XVI

TIN BURJ

Tin Burj is a group of square-type tombs (Plates 104a, c) at Mubarakpur within a few yards of Moth-ki--Masjid, on the left of the road from New Delhi to the Qutb Minar and near to the mausoleum of Safdar Jang[1]. While 'Tin Burj' literally means 'three domed structures', in fact, there are four tombs lying in a group on the spot[2]. The monuments have their individual names viz. Bare Khan ka Gunbad, Chhote Khan ka Gunbad, Kale Khan ka Gunbad and Bhure Khan ka Gunbad meaning the domes of the Great or Senior Khan (noble), Little or Junior Khan, Black Khan and Bhure Khan respectively. The basic material for construction is rubble with casing of irregular blocks of stone. While Kale Khan ka Gunbad is still entirely plastered-over, in the other three buildings coat of plaster has been mostly peeled off. Colour, specially red and blue, seems to have been used for internal decoration[4]. Blue enamelled tiles appear to have been used for external ornamentation of the Chhote Khan

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1. See Plate 1a for location.

2. Keene (p.43) has 'Tir Burj' and Harcourt (p.97) 'Tir Boorja' which appear to be misreading.

3. Generally the three tombs of Bare Khan, Chhote Khan and Kale Khan are grouped together to mean 'Tin Burj'. Blakiston (vol.iv, p.26), however, has taken Bhure Khan ka Gunbad instead of Kale Khan ka Gunbad for the group. In fact, Bhure Khan ka Gunbad (100 yards) is nearer to the other two buildings than the Kale Khan ka Gunbad (350 yards). Of course, Bhure Khan's is the smallest of the four tombs.
   Carr Stephen (p.649) does not seem to be happy about the names of the monuments. "The names popularly given to the tombs of Bare Khan, Chote Khan and Kale Khan are inventions of some rustic genius which I am not willing to accept." - he remarks.

4. Wetzel (p.60) doubts use of colour in the so-called Bare Khan ka Gunbad. "Man glaubt Rot und Blau zu erkennen. Doch bleibt das zweifelhaft." - he says.

ka Gunbad. Their use for some time as cattle sheds by the local villagers has told on their condition of preservation. At present, however, they are lying as protected monuments of the government of India.

3. BARE KHAN KA GUNBAD

Of the Tin Burj group monuments, the Bare Khan ka Gunbad is the biggest[5]. It measures about 68 feet square externally and the tomb-chamber which consists of five unidentified graves is a square of 44 feet 3 inches (Pls. 107b, 108a)[6]. In fact, this is the biggest square--type monument ever raised by the Lodis[7]. Its surface walls are divided, as usual, into flat niched panels which are arranged, as in the case of Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad, into three storeys or stages (Pls. 106b and c). But the peculiarity here is that the panels are grouped into threes and the middle panel of each group is comparatively bigger. Moreover, the walls terminate at the angles with semi-octagonal pilasters whereas neither Shish Gunbad nor Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad has such pilaster at the angles (cf. Pls. 91 and 99). As usual, each side

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But traces of colour, specially red, are still to be seen in the intrados of the dome.
Cf. Blakiston, vol.iv, p.25. In the Chhote Khan ka Gunbad gold has also been used for decoration.

5. For descriptive details, see also Wetzel, pp.57-61, Grab 27; Blakiston, vol.iv, pp.24-25 and Ann.Rep., vol.xx, pp.154-55.

6. According to Wetzel's measurements (p.59), the tomb--chamber is a square of 13,50 m and the thickness of the walls on each side covers about 3,70 m, which I accept. When Blakiston (p.24) says, 'a domed chamber 72 feet 9 inches', I should take it that he means an approximate measurement of the exterior. Cunningham has 71 feet 8 inches.

7. The next big building of the Lodis is the Bara Gunbad which measures 62 feet square externally and 40 feet internally.

of the tomb is flanked by a projected portal (Pls. 104b, 105c, 106c) and pierced with a doorway excepting the Qibla side (Pl. 105a). But what is peculiar here is that the face of the portal on the Qibla side is also divided into panels keeping symmetry with the rest of the wall and that the doorways on the other three sides are relieved above not by open windows as usual but by windows covered with pierced screens (Pls. 104b and 105c). As usual, again, the eastern wall provides two staircases for access to the roof (Pl. 109b) in the manner of the Shish Gunbad (cf. Pl. 91b)[8], the inner walls have a pair of niches at each angle (Pl. 108a) same as in the Shish Gunbad (cf. Pl. 94a), the transition to the circle of the dome has taken place by means of the usual angle squinches (Pl. 107b) which are recessed thrice (Pl.108a) and the intrados of the dome is decorated with star-shaped ribs on plaster with a round disc at the centre (Pls. 107a and 108b), more or less the same feature which we have noticed in the Shish Gunbad (cf. Pl. 97b) and in the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad (cf. Pl. 103). To give the required rounded form to the angular face of hard stone thick coat of plaster has been used which appears to have been an usual technique of the period (Pl. 109a). But unlike the Shish Gunbad and the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad, this building has four octagonal Chhatris or kiosks at each angle of the roof (Pls. 106b, c) and in spite of the fact that this building is bigger in plan than the Bara Gunbad, it is lower in total height[9]. The reason is

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8. Blakiston (vol.iv, p.24) has mentioned a passage 'in the thickness of the south wall, over the entrance arch .... measuring some 39 feet long 2 feet broad and 7 feet 3 inches in height which is approached from the southern staircase'.'The purpose of this passage, which is in a poor condition, is not known' - he has said.

9. According to Cunningham (Ann.Rep., vol.xx), the total height of the Bara Gunbad is about 88 feet (p.157) while that of the Bare Khan ka Gunbad is about 70 feet.

that the dome is hemispherical and it has a lower drum. (This is a feature which deserves special attention). The more developed is the Lodi dome the more elevated is the curve of its extrados and the more raised is the drum. The monuments e.g. Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad (1501 A.D.) and the tomb, known as Mir Mirán at Sirhind (1497/8 A.D.) are surmounted with such typical Lodi domes (cf. Pls. 99 and 131). Even the domes of the Khairpur mosque (1494 A.D.) and of the Shish Gunbad (c. 1489 A.D.) have stilted elevation and a more prominent drum. The finial which appears to have once crowned the dome of the monument has collapsed (Pl. 104c). Some idea of the finial may, however, be formed from the remains of those of the angle-kiosks (Pl. 106b)[10].

The building bears no historical inscriptions. The spandrels of the lower arches in the interior and the intrados of the dome are, however, decorated with Arabic inscriptions of Naskh lettering and of religious character[11].

4. CHHOTE KHAN KA GUNBAD

This small but the most beautiful of the Tin Burj group of monuments stands some 25 yards to the east of Bare Khan ka Gunbad (Pl. 104c)[12]. The tomb is square in plan measuring 43 feet on each side (Pl.110b). As usual, each side has a projected portal at the middle with a corbelled doorway on the three sides, the Qibla side being closed on account of the symbolic Mihrab (Pls.110a, b and 111b). It is important to note here that the door-

10. The base of the finial as reconstructed by Fr.Wetzel (Pl.106c) looks, I am afraid, somewhat different from an usual Lodi finial.

11. Refer Ashraf Husain, pp.50-51.

12. For descriptioe details refer also Wetzel, p.52, Grab 23 and Blakiston, vol.iv, p.25.

ways towards the east and north are screened with massive trellises of red sand-stone. Only the southern doorway is left open for passage. The tympanum of the arched frame of the portal has a window-opening. The surface of the wall is divided into four panels on each side of the portal, the panels being arranged into pairs in two storeys and the upper ones being pierced with small ventilations (Pl. 110a) as in the case of the Shish Gunbad (cf. Pl. 87). The lower panels immediately adjacent to the portals are, however, not open as in the Shish Gunbad. Staircases give access to the roof from the eastern side as usual. The dome has a prominent drum (8 feet 6 inches high and 26 feet 3 inches in span) and the extrados is slightly stilted. It was once crowned with a beautiful finial, the base of which still remains. At each angle of the roof there is a hexagonal kiosk. The dome and the kiosk are further responded to by solid turrets on the portals. The tomb-chamber (26 feet 6 inches square) has only one grave in the middle (Pl. 111b). The interior has, as usual, a pair of niches at each angle and the transition has taken place by means of squinches. The intrados of the dome has not the usual star-shaped ribs on plaster but one can still see that it was lavishly decorated with floral design and inscriptions in stucco where colours in blue, red and gold have been sufficiently used. Tiers of blue glazed tiles also decorated the interior as well as the exterior of the monument. The inscriptions, mentioned above, are too many, but none is of historical importance[13].

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13. For the many Arabic inscriptions of this monument which are written in Naskh lettering and are all of religious character, refer Ashraf Husain, pp. 51-55.

5. KALE KHAN KA GUNBAD

Some 360 yards to the south of Bare Khan ka Gunbad is another square type tomb known as Kale Khan ka Gunbad (Pls. 104a, c and 111a)[14]. It is of almost the same size (42 feet square externally and 26 feet 4 inches internally) as the Chhote Khan ka Gunbad (43 feet square externally and 26 feet 5 inches internally) and the two buildings, both being square-type Lodi tombs, have many similarities (cf. Pls. 110a and 111a). The hexagonal kiosks at the angles (Pl. 111b) which once adorned its roof have fallen down[15]; otherwise, the two tombs would look still more alike. Their ground-plans and overall treatment are, indeed, very similar (Pl. 111b). But their differences are not negligible. The foremost difference is that the doorway openings are not spanned with the usual corbels or gradually projecting brackets which we have noticed in all other square-type tombs of the Lodi period. Here they are spanned with true arches. In all other monuments of the same type, we have noticed the staircases at the middle of the eastern side; here they are at the north-east corner. The coat of plaster on the exterior of this monument having been comparatively thicker, it has survided even today. From its present condition, it is difficult to conclude if the dome was ever crowned with a finial. The drum is fairly raised (8 feet 8 inches high), even though the extrados of the dome is not so stilted. The intrados has, as usual, star-shaped ribs painted (Pl.111b), the transition has taken place through squinches, the Qibla side has got a symbolic Mihrab, a pair of niches is at each angle of

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14. For description, refer Wetzel, pp. 53-54, Grab 24.

15. "Auch hier waren einst auf den Ecken des Quadratbaues kleine Pfeilertempelchen aufgestellt, deren Kuppeln dem Äußeren erst den richtigen Zusammenschluß der Linien gaben. Sie sind heute alle bis auf die etwa 80 cm hohe Fundamentplatte verschwunden. Sie hatten achteckige Form mit 90 cm Seitenlänge." - Wetzel, p.54.

the interior, the outer panels are in pairs and in two storeys and those of the lower storeys adjacent to the portal are pierced. The tomb-chamber consists of two graves. The exterior of the building is ornamented with inscribed medallions and the interior is decorated with inscriptions cut on plaster mostly of religious character. But one Persian inscription appears on a red sandstone slab fixed over the symbolic Mihrab which is of historical importance; but, unfortunately, it is not wholly readable. The readable portions are:

بنا کرد این عمارت را در عهد دولت بندگی حضرت
سلیمانی بهلول شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و
سلطانه ..... والده این ..... مرحوم مبارک خان
بن مسند عالی اعظم همایون خان محمد ابن ملک
فر ... تاریخ بیست پنجم ماه ربیع الاول
سنه ست و ثمانین و ثمانمایة *

The English rendering of the inscription may be the following:

"This building was erected during the reign of Buhlul Shah Sultan, may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign, who commands devotion like His Majesty Solomon ..... the late Mubarak Khan, son of Masnad-i-Ali Azam Humayun Khan Muhammad son of Malik Fir (?) .... dated the 25th of the month of Rabiu-'l-Awal of the year 886 (= 24th May 1481 A.D.)"[16].

16. Cf. Ashraf Husain, p.56 and Blakiston, vol.iv, p.26-27. It may be mentioned here that Wetzel has already taken any notice of any inscription whatsoever.

6. BHURE KHAN KA GUNBAD

This is the smallest building of the group (only 27 feet square)[17], standing some 75 yards to the south of Chhote Khan ka Gunbad (Pl. 112a). The tomb is very similar in its overall treatment with the Chhote Khan ka Gunbad. Perhaps, it had also once Chhatris or kiosks at the angles of its roof. Traces of blue tiles show that this building was also once ornamented in the same way, if not in the same scale, as the Chhote Khan ka Gunbad. But this tomb has, at least two peculiarities: one, it being much smaller in scale, single panels set one above the other, not in doubles or threes, divide the surface on each side of the portal and two, engaged slender towers with flutings at the third stage appear at the two sides of the portals. Otherwise, its features are common as in other square type tombs. The tomb-chamber consists of one unidentified grave. The building is decorated with inscriptions which are all religious in character and have no historical bearing[18].

The dates and the builders of the monuments:

We have seen above that only one of these four monuments, Kale Khan ka Gunbad, bears an inscription which records that the tomb was built in May, 1481 A.D. for one Mubarak Khan, son of Masnad-i-Ali Azam Humayun Muhammad son of Malik .... during the reign of Buhlul Lodi. It cannot be made out of the inscription who built this tomb. It is equally difficult to make out the Mubarak Khan of the inscription whose remains are lying deposited in this tomb. I have come across Mubarak Khans with, at least, four different family- or clan-names viz., Mubarak Khan Lohani, Mubarak Khan Lodi,

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17. Wetzel has not dealt with this tomb.
18. Ref. Ashraf Husain (p.60) for the non-historical inscriptions of this monument.

Mubarak Khan Mewaji and Mubarak Khan Mewati, - all belonging to the Lodi period. It is a question now if any of these Mubarak Khans lies buried in this tomb. The available literature is but hardly of any help on this point[19]. J.F. Blakiston has suggested the probability of Mubarak Khan Lohani, father of Darya Khan, having been buried here[20]. "The tomb is believed to contain the remains of Mubarak Khan Lohani, a noble of Bahlol Lodi" is all that Maulvi Ashraf Husain has said[21]. The study is rather confusing[22] but, certainly, Mubarak Khan Lohani, who is sometimes shown as governor of Kara[23] and sometimes as in charge of Jaunpur[24], sur-

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19. Seyid Ahmad (Athár, p.86), Cunningham, (Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.155), Keene (p.43), Wetzel (pp.53-54), Harcourt (p.97), Rodgers (Revised, p.89), Fanshawe (p.245), Sharp (p.73) - none of them deals on this point.

20. Blakiston, vol.iv, pp.26-27.

21. Ashraf Husain, p.56.

22. Cf. Mubarak Khan Lohani was appointed governor of Jaunpur by Buhlul Lodi (C.H.I., vol.iii, p.234); Mubarak Khan Lodi, governor of Jaunpur, was found guilty of defalcation by Sikandar Lodi (Ibid, p.239). Ferishta (vol.i) has also used both Lohani (p.573) and 'Lodi' (p.574) for the same Mubarak Khan, father of Darya Khan. See also Tarikh-Daudi (vide Elliot and Dowson, vol.iv, pp.460-61). Now Lohanis being also Lodis, it is understandable that the family names have, sometimes, been interchanged. It appears, however, that they refer to the same person.
One Mubarak Khan without family name has been shown as governor of Lucknow (Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i,p.64 and Wakiat-i-Mustaki vide Elliot and Dowson, vol.iv, p.5-8); but it was as late as 915 A.H. = 1508-9 A.D. during the reign of Sikandar Lodi. So he also does not come into question with regard to the Kale Khan ka Gunbad.
Mubarak Khan Mewaji or Mowjy, a commander of the army of Sikandar Lodi, is mentioned to have died about the same time as Mubarak Khan Lohani (Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, p.573). Naturally, he should also not arise in connection with the Kale Khan ka Gunbad.
One Mubarak Khan Mewati was a hostage at the court of Buhlul (C.H.I., vol.iii, p.230) but his connection with this monument seems to be rather remote.

23. C.H.I., vol.iii, p.237.

24. Ibid, 239 and Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, p.569.

vived Buhlul Lodi (d. 1489 A.D.) for quite a few years and died late in the reign of Sikandar Lodi (c. 1497 A.D.)[25]. Now, as the Kale Khan ka Gunbad is recorded in the inscription to have been built in 1481 A.D. when Buhlul Lodi was still reigning and after the death of its occupier (the late Mubarak Khan), I find it difficult to ascribe it to Mubarak Khan Lohani who died, at least, fifteen years after the erection of this tomb. But who is this Mubarak Khan referred to in the inscription? I must admit that I could not find any positive answer to this question[26] which I must leave to those who are interested in Indo-Islamic archaeology for further investigations.

The other monuments of the group bear no historical inscription. Their dates and identifications are, therefore, still more difficult a study. The available literature on Delhi archaeology are all silent on this point. Judged from stylistic point of view, however, the Bare Khan ka Gunbad should be placed sometime before the Shish Gunbad (c. 1489 A.D.) and, naturally, before Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad (1501 A.D.). The foremost point is the dome. The more developed is a Lodi dome, the more elevated and perfect is the curve of its extrados, typical examples of which may be found in the Bagh-i-Alam ka Gunbad (1501 A.D.) and the Bara Gunbad (c. 1502 A.D.). Even the domes of the Khairpur mosque (1494 A.D.) and that of the Shish Gunbad (ca. 1489 A.D.) have stilted elevation and a more prominent drum. What is more, Bare Khan ka Gunbad appears to be of a date when the Lodi architects had yet to achieve perfection in the use of colour and enamelled tiles. Even the adjacent tomb, the so-called Chhote Khan ka Gunbad shows more developed characteristics in the shape of its dome and in the use

25. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, p.573.

26. The father of this Mubarak Khan, Masnad-i-Ali Azam Humayun Khan Muhammad, could not also be identified. We come across a few nobles with the titles of 'Masnad-i-Ali' and 'Azam Humayun' during the Lodi period but they either belonged to the time of Sikandar Lodi

of colours and tiles. Bare Khan ka Gunbad is rather nearer in style to Kale Khan ka Gunbad, the date of which is 1481 A.D. (cf. Pl.111a). The shape of the domes and of the arches of both the monuments have nearness but thick coat of plaster on the surface in Tughlaqian style may speak of its slightly earlier character. With more elaborate scheme of panelling and preference for exposed masonry, Bare Khan ka Gunbad seems to be a comparatively later monument. I am, thus, in favour of placing the Bare Khan ka Gunbad somewhere between the Kale Khan ka Gunbad and the Shish Gunbad i.e. between 1481 A.D. and 1489 A.D.

No inscription nor any literature being available, it is not feasible to attempt identification of its builder or of the person buried here. By way of a mere suggestion, however, I shall hint at a possibility. An inscription[27] found in a mosque at Hissar records the name of a distinguished noble, Qutb Khan with the prefix 'Khan Mu'azzam' which means 'the great Khan' or, locally, 'Bare Khan'. Now, this Qutb Khan was the first cousin of Sultan Buhlul Lodi and also his brother-in-law (brother of his most favourite wife, Shams Khatun). In fact, Buhlul's uncle, Islam Khan, deprived his son Qutb Khan of his rightful claim to the governorship of Sirhind and gave it to Buhlul, which was the stepping stone towards his becoming the Sultan of Delhi. Qutb Khan, however, reconciled himself to his lot and became Buhlul's right-hand man. He counted so much in the kingdom that due to him a battle was fought with Jaunpur and due to him, again, a treaty was signed. Buhlul held him in high respect and when suddenly at Majhauli[28], this

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or even later.

27. Read by Blochmann, vide. P.A.S.B., March, 1877, p.94

28. Lat.26°17′N, long. 83°57′E, on the little Gandak river. Tarikh-i-Ferishta (vol.i, p.560) has Bisowly for Mijhauli which, I think, is a misreading; see also Makhzan-i-Afghani, pt.i, p.54 and C.H.I., vol.iii, p.234. Refer chap.ii, fn.17, ante.

great Khan died, Buhlul suspended an expedition due to shock. The great Qutb Khan being no more, there were signs of rebellions in parts of the kingdom. The Sultan got so much upset that he divided the kingdom among his sons and near relatives and after only a few years, in 1489 A.D. Buhlul himself died. In the fitness of things, I would suggest, that Buhlul Lodi might have raised some befitting tomb on the remains of this great Khan who was his first cousin and brother-in-law and was enjoying the position almost of the king-maker. Is it, then, impossible that the so-called Bare Khan ka Gunbad was itself built by Buhlul Lodi for this Bare Khan (great Khan), Qutb Khan? At least, there cannot be any architectural objection to it. I leave it to the inquisitive reader to pursue the point further. In case, however, the identification tallies, the date of the monument would be ca.1486 A.D. when Qutb Khan died[29].

As we have already observed, the other two monuments of the group seem to be of comparatively later date. Both the monuments show, indeed, very developed Lodi features, for instance, in the use of enamelled tiles of different colours, in the treatment of the surface, in the shape of the dome etc. The Chhote Khan ka Gunbad may be placed sometime after the Shish Gunbad i.e. 1489 A.D. and the Bure Khan ka Gunbad still later. But unfortunately no definite date nor identification of their builders or occupiers can be concluded[30].

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29. C.H.I., vol.iii, p.234

30. The name Chhote Khan ka Gunbad, I do not think, has anything to do with its builder or the occupier. It is not impossible that the name "Chotta' (small) was to its much smaller size than the adjacent Bara (big) Khan ka Gunbad. The plaster of the Kale (black) Khan ka Gunbad has become black in sun and shower. Perhaps, that should explain its name. Buhlul Lodi had a nephew, known as 'Kala Pahár' (Black Rock). But his real name was Shaikhzada Muhammad Fermuli, not 'Mubarak Khan' of the inscription and this Kala Pahár survived Buhlul (see Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol.i, pp.567-8). The Kale Khan ka Gunbad should not, therefore, be linked-up with Kala Pahár.

Before we finish with this group of monuments, however, we may take notice of the fact that the prime minister of Sikandar Lodi, Mian Bhua[31], the builder of Moth-ki--Masjid is also mentioned as Mian Bhura who died about 1519-20 A.D. Could this Mian Bhura be the Bhure Khan of the tomb? No further informations being available, we leave this point of query also to the interested scholars on Indo-Islamic architecture for further investigation and enlightenment.

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31. See chap.III, ante, fns. 51-55.

Chapter XVII

7. TOMB OF SIKANDAR LODI

About 250 yards to the north east of Shish Gunbad (chap. XIV) in the Lodi Gardens at Khairpur, Delhi[1], lies an octagonal tomb ascribed to Sikandar Shah Lodi (Plate 151)[2]. The monument stands on a mound by the side of a depression (Pls. 153a, b). Across the depression runs the Nizamuddin-Mubarakpur road over a bridge, called Athpalla (Pls. 153a, 192 b, c)[3]. The basic material for construction is rubble and mortar and the casing is of grey granite. Red sand-stone has been used for the ornamental parts and sufficient use of encaustic tiles has been made for internal decoration. The building is in a good order of preservation.

The monument is raised on a high square platform which measures about 264 feet each side (Pls. 151, 153c)[4] and is about 9 feet 10 inches in height. The surface of

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1. See Plates 1a and 1b for location; see also Wetzel (pp.83-85) for description.
2. I am thankful to the authorities of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for this photograph. This is a black-and-white reproduction from the original painted piece which was drawn by an artist, about whom the museum authorities could not tell me, for the East India company in 1830 A.D. The artist, however, called it 'the tomb of Firoz Shah Tughlaq' (d. 1388 A.D.) which was evidently a mistake; for Firoz Shah's tomb lies at Haus Khas, Delhi, bearing an inscription.
3. 'Atpalla' means 'Eight Pillars'. The bridge is so called because it is supported by eight pillars. The bridge, it seems, belongs to the late Mughal period.
4. Stephen, p.170; According to Blakiston (vol.ii, p.38), 250 feet square and Wetzel (p.83), 80 m square. Cunningham has 122 feet square which is evidently a misreading (Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.158. N.B. Cunningham has called this monument 'Tomb of Muhammad bin Farid').

the platform is pierced with vaulted openings which are framed into rectangular panels (Pl.191a) and at the four angles, the platform has bastion-like projections (Pls.154 and 191b). Above the plinth-level of the platform is a masonry wall, crowned with pierced parapets. The wall is about 8 feet thick and 23 feet high[5]. To the southern side of the platform is a raised open terrace which measures about 66 feet by 52 feet[6]. Flights of steps give access to the floor of the terrace from the western side (Pls.154 and 158b). The southern angles of the terrace have two square Chhatris or canopies with tent-roofing and supported on four pillars (Pls.156, 157 and 158a). Glazed tiles have been used for the decoration of these canopies. To the northern side of the terrace is the main entrance to the courtyard of the tomb (Pls.152, 154, 158b and 159). This gateway is about 21 feet 4 inches high and 5 feet 11 inches wide[7]. It is very simple in treatment and compared to the other Lodi gateways, e.g. the gateways of the Jam-i-Masjid of Sikandar Lodi, the tomb and mosque of Basti Khan and the Mandhi Masjid, this gateway is much smaller in scale and less ambitious in scheme. But for the two medallions on the spandrel of its front arch and the pierced parapets as crowning, it is practically devoid of any decoration. The crowning parapets (about 3 feet 3 inches high)[8] are, however, imposing and they are very similar to those of the Kinait-i-Masjid and Mandhi Masjid. Its roof can be reached through a doorway (Pl.158a) which is provided with staircases for the purpose (Pls.160a, b). The western side of the enclosure walls has a blind portal at the middle (Pls.154, 155).

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5. Stephen, p.170.
6. Ibid, p.170; Blakiston (vol.ii, p.38) has 62 feet by 52 feet and Wetzel (p.83), about 18 m.
7. After Wetzel's measurements (p.83).
8. Ibid.

Provided with a symbolic Mihrab and two side niches (Pls. 165b, c), the portal serves the purpose of the usual Qibla of the tomb, a feature which is to be found, in case of the square-type tombs, inside the tomb-chamber. The portal is about 65 feet high and 39 feet wide[9]. It is flanked with two engaged towers at the two ends and its tympanum is pierced with a window (Pls.165b, c and 166 a, b). Another smaller blind niched portal towards the eastern side (Pls.154, 161a) keeps symmetry with the elevations of the gateway towards the south and the Qibla-portal to the west. The interior surface of the enclosure walls is recessed into rows of niched panels (Pls.165, 167) and the entire enclosure wall towards the interior seems to have once been coated with plaster which has by now mostly peeled off. At the middle of the open square court yard stands the tomb proper on a low plinth (Pls. 153d, 154). The tomb-chamber is a polygon enclosed with polygonal walls and further surrounded with an octagonal corridor on all sides (Pl.155). Each face of the octagon is pierced with three arched--openings (Pls.161b, 162, 163 and 164). Supported on rectangular piers, the arches are pointed stilted ones, the middle one being comparatively bigger in span. The flat surface of each pier is relieved with a vertical row of small rectangular recesses which appears to be a common feature with tombs of the same type (Pls.170 a, b). Except for decorative leaves chiselled on the capitals, the piers are left without any decoration (Pls.172a, b). At each angle of the outer octagon is a sloping buttress, decorated with a projected band and geometrical patterns on red sand-stone (Pls.168, 169). Around the entire building to the exterior and below the cornice, runs a line of rather elongated eaves supported on richly carved but short brackets (Pls.171a, b). Above it is the cornice crowned with typical Lodi blind parapets (Pl.168a). Each side of the octagonal corridor is roofed

9. Stephen, p.171.

over with small shallow vaults at the middle, the rest having trabeated roofing (Pl.155). The same flutings which we have noticed, for instance, in the so-called assembly hall attached to the Khairpur mosque, in the Moth-ki-Masjid and in the mosque of Daulat Khan Lodi may also be observed here in these vaults (Pl.173a). The main entrance into the tomb-chamber is from the southern side which is provided with steps (Pls.168b, 169a). The doorway giving access into the chamber bears elaborate chiselled decorations (Pls.174, 175, 176a). The doorway opening is spanned with richly carved brackets supporting an architrave and further relieved by an arched opening (Pl.174a). The other doorways are also similar in treatment although comparatively less elaborate in ornamentation (Pls.177a, b). The external face of the walls enclosing the tomb-chamber has sparcely been relieved by simple flat recesses (Pl. 176b). Internally, the lower parts of the walls were originally coated with plaster which has largely fallen off, (Pl.178a). The tomb-chamber contains only one cenotaph at the centre (Pl.178b) with a headstone towards the north (Pls.154 Abb.230 and 155)[10]. The base of the tomb--chamber being itself a polygon, struts have been used to bridge the angles of the polygon and, thus, gradually the circle of the dome has been arrived at (Pl.185). Whereas the lower part of the interior walls is plainly plastered over, the upper part is decorated with tiers

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10. The headstone carved in ancient Hindu or Jaina manner, has been mentioned by some scholars to have been removed from some old building. (See Blakiston, vol.ii, p.38; Fanshawe, p.244). This is not impossible. But from the elaborate Hindu carvings on the doorways of this monument and also many other Lodi monuments, it may be suggested that many local non-Muslim masons were employed by the Lodis for their buildings. It is not improbable that this headstone was carved by some such non-Muslim mason after his own building traditions.

of flat arched recesses arranged in two storeys (Pls.155 and 185). Decoration of these recessed panels is one of the most significant features of this monument (Pls.179, 180, 181, 182, 183 and 184). The panels have been framed with bands of glazed tiles. The spandrels and the tympanum of the arches are painted red and are further embellished with rosettes, leaves, geometrical patterns and also Quranic inscriptions where different colours - specially red, blue, white, yellow and bright azure - have been used on encaustic tiles. The panels at the main axes of the building are pierced with window openings. Most possibly for receiving more light for the interior (Pls. 180b, 185). The intrados of the dome bears a large disc at the centre which is also decorated with religious inscriptions and geometrical patterns (Pls. 186a, b). Internally, the dome lends a hemispherical view.

The roof of the building can be reached through a doorway (Pl.187a) which gives access to a staircase built in the thickness of the western wall (Pl.187b). In the centre of the roof is the stilted dome on a raised polygonal drum corresponding to the tomb-chamber below (Pl.188a). The drum of the dome is crowned with a projected band of masonry, blind parapets and small solid turrets (Pls.188b and 189a, b). The extrados of the dome is thickly plastered over and only the base of the once-existing calyx or lotus finial survives today (Pl.188a). Whereas the intrados of the dome is almost semi-circular, the extrados is prominently elevated through filling process - so much so that it looks as if the dome has two separate crusts, one hemispherical in the interior and the other stilted to the exterior with a vacant space in between. But in fact, the dome has only one internal crust thickly filled up from the

exterior (Pl. 155)[11]. The rest of the roof corresponding to the corridor below is flat which appears to have had, at least in its original plan, Chhatris or the usual canopied kiosks at the angles. The remains of such a kiosk may still be seen in plate 190. The building bears no historical inscription[12].

The date and the builder:

The study of the date and the builder of this monument has some difficulty. There is no inscription to help us on this point and the available literature is confusing. Seyid Ahmad Khan (1847 A.D.)[13] was the first to call it the tomb of Sikandar Lodi but he showed no ground for his identification. J.D. Beglar (1874 A.D.) commented, "I am not aware of any reason sufficient for calling it the tomb of Sikandar Lodi"[14]. General Cunningham[15] identified this monument as the tomb of Muhammad bin Farid (d. 1444 A.D.). Almost all other scholars on

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11. Sir John Marshall (see chap.XV ante fn.10) and Percy Brown (see chap.XV ante, fn.11) have treated this monument as a double-domed structure. But I do not think that the dome has two independent shells. From March 1954 to January 1958 I had opportunities to visit this monument every year. I personally climbed up on the drum of the dome. Fortunately, I found a big hole in the exterior of the dome (Pl.188b) through which I could clearly see that the dome has no outer crust, - it was all rubble coated thickly with plaster. The drawing by Wetzel at Plate 155 also shows clearly that the dome has only one internal shell of voussoirs carrying the load of rubble and plaster and that there are no two shells with a gap in between as it is held by Marshall and Brown.

12. For the non-historical inscriptions which are all religious in character, see Ashraf Husain, p.47.

13. Athár, p.89.

14. Ann.Rep., vol.iv, p.69.

15. Ann.Rep., vol.xx, p.158-59.
But another tomb lying to the south-west is generally ascribed to Muhammad Shah (see Plates 1b, c and also 195a, b). Cunningham has ascribed that monument

Indian archaeology have, however, gone by the identification of Seyid Ahmad but nowhere any clarification is to be found[16].

Now, judged from stylistic point of view, this monument is decidedly much more developed than the tomb of Mubarak Shah Seyid (d.1434 A.D.) at Mubarakpur (cf. Pl.194 a, b). With its extensive plans, this tomb strikes also to be much later than the tomb of Muhammad Shah Seyid (d. 1443 A.D.; cf. Pls.195a, b). This monument resembles the tomb of Sikandar Lodi so closely that it appears almost certain that the architects of Sikandar's tomb had taken this building as the prototype[17]. But certainly, the tomb of Sikandar is much better planned and, specially, the extensive use of encaustic tiles and the harmonious internal and external shape of the dome would place this monument at a much later date, - as late as the end of the Lodi period. I find it difficult, therefore, to agree with Cunningham and place this

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to one Mubarak Khan Pathan. He has showed no clarifications for his identifications.

16. Cf. Harcourt, p.96; Tremlett, p.84; Stephen, p.170; Rodgers, Revised, p.89; Fanshawe, p.243; Wetzel, pp.83-85; Blakiston, vol.ii, pp.37-38; Sharp, p.244; Hearn, pp.63-64; Marshall, C.H.I., vol.iii, p.595; Ashraf Husain, p.47; Brown, p.28 and Terry, pp. 15-16.
Keene (pl.72) has called it Sikandar Lodi's tomb but has ascribed it to the Sur period (1538-1555 A.D.). Fergusson (p.217) has not identified it at all. Havell has not dealt with this monument but has, curiously enough, supplied a photograph of the Bara Gunbad and called it 'Tomb of Sikandar Lodi' (facing p.104).

17. Even the dimensions of these two buildings are nearly the same.

Tomb of	Inside diameter Ft.	In.	Outside diameter Ft.	In.
Muhammad Shah	31	10 1/2	72	2
Sikandar Lodi	31	5	73	8

(after Cunningham's measurements, vide Ann.Rep., vol.ii, p.159).

monument during the Seyid period (1414-1451 A.D.). But it seems rather improbable that the building was raised as late as the days of the Surs (1538-55 A.D.) as Keene has observed[18]. The octagonal tombs of the Surs with more than one storey are comparatively later developments (cf. Pls. 196, 197, 198 and 199). What is more, the Mughal emperor Babur has mentioned in his Memoirs to have visited the tomb of Sikandar Lodi already in 1526 A.D.[19]. The placement of the monument during the Sur period (1538-1555 A.D.) sounds, therefore, improbable. Indeed, the stilted arches of this tomb, its slightly elongated eaves, richly carved brackets for the doorways and the eaves, fluted ceilings of the corridor, sufficient use of encaustic tiles of varied colours - all these features speak of its Lodi character; whereas, its setting on a huge square platform, the elevations at the middle of the western and eastern sides of the enclosure walls in symmetry with the gateway-elevation to the south and the harmonious form of the intrados and the extrados of the dome - would all place this monument towards the end of the Lodi period. To whom then this monumental tomb of the late Lodi days might possibly belong? While trying to answer this question we have to consider the very location of the monument in the Lodi gardens, the then Bagh-i-Jûd i.e. the garden of Sikandar Lodi[20]. Here in this garden, we know, Sikandar Lodi as well as Buhlul Lodi were buried[21]. Now that we have identified the adjacent tomb, the

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18. See fn. 16 above.

19. See chap.iii ante, fn.72.

20. See chap.iii, fns. 115, 116 and 117 ante.
N.B. Sultan Ibrahim, the last Lodi king (d.1526 A.D.) lies buried at Panipat (Pl.149c). So the question of his being buried in this monument does not arise.

21. See chap.iii, fn. 114.

Shish Gunbad, as the tomb of Buhlul Lodi, the identification of this monument as the tomb of Sikandar Lodi appears to be almost an inevitable conclusion. The date of Sikandar's death on November 21, 1517 A.D.[22], agrees happily with the architecture of this tomb. Unless and until any evidence to the contrary comes down to us, I think, we have to accept the identification of this monument at Khairpur as the tomb of Sikandar Lodi[23]. Once accepted, the approximate date should be 1517 A.D. and the builder, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, the son and successor of Sultan Sikandar Shah Lodi.

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22. C.H.I., vol.iii, p.246.

23. It may not be out of place to mention here that A.C.L. Carlleyle (vide. Ann.Rep., vol.iv, pp.185-186) has suggested the possibility of a five-domed tomb near Sikandra, Agra being the tomb of Sikandar Lodi. But the possibility is rather too remote; because, one, the monument in question belongs to the 17th century (see Ann.Rep.Rep., 1917-19, p.25) and two, it is evident from almost contemporary literature that Sikandar Lodi was buried not at Agra but at Delhi.

Chapter XVIII

8. THE SO-CALLED TOMB OF BUHLUL LODI AT CHIRAGH-I-DEHLI

There is an interesting hall-type tomb (Pls.137, 140) lying immediately outside the western wall of the shrine of Raushan Chiragh-i-Dehli[1]. This tomb has been ascribed to Sultan Buhlul Lodi by the Department of Archaeology, Government of India[2]. The tomb is a hypostile hall built of rubble masonry and finished with plaster. Red sand-stone has been used for the jambs. The monument was for a long time used by the caretaker of the shrine as a dwelling house[3] and as a result its architecture was affected. At present, however, it lies in a fairly good order of preservation.

The tomb is a square of 44 feet. The walls on each side are pierced with three arched doorways. The central arch is recessed thrice and the side ones twice (Pl.138a). The spandrels of the arches are decorated with bands and medallions inscribed with Naskh lettering[4]. The surface is otherwise plain. Above the arches runs a line of

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1. See Plate 1a for location.
   The saint Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud, surnamed 'Chiragh-i-Dehli' (the Lamp of Delhi) died on the 2nd day of September 1356 A.D. during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq. See Ain-i-Akbari, Jarret, vol.iii, p.409. The shrine and its gateway were built by Firuz Shah in 1373-74 A.D. and the enclosure walls were built by the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1729 A.D. (Pl.141b). See Fanshawe, p.287 and Hearn, p.43. Immediately to the south-east of the so-called tomb of Buhlul Lodi are the remains of a Chabutra (Pl.141a) which seems to be a much later construction once accommodating some grave.
2. A government shield hangs on the monument declaring it as the tomb of Buhlul Lodi.
3. See Fanshawe, p.288; Blakiston, vol.iii, p.138 and Stephen, p.162.
4. Refer Ashraf Husain, pp.70-72 for the inscriptions which are all non-historical in character.

eaves supported on brackets on all sides of the building and the frieze is relieved with a row of small niches set into rectangular panels. The cornice is crowned with pierced parapets. The roof has five domes (Pl.141a). The central dome is the biggest. It rests on a comparatively higher drum and its extrados is decorated with alternate convexed and angular flutings. The dome has a slightly ogee or keel curve. It was once crowned with a lotus finial.

The interior of the building is a hypostile hall (Pl.143). In the centre of the hall corresponding to the central dome are two cenotaphs, one belonging to a male person and the other to a female (Pl.144)[5]. The twelve pillars of the hall are square in shape and without any decoration. The arches springing from these pillars are stilted pointed ones on which rest the domes of the building. The transition of the square space below into the octagon above has taken place by means of drop-squinches resting on struts (Pl.138b). This octagon has receded into the next stage of sixteen sides, the face of each side being relieved by flat niched panels and by use of further struts for the next stages the roundness of the dome has been arrived at. It is apparent that the architect wanted to raise the central dome higher than the domes at the angles and, thus, to make it comparatively more prominent. He got this result by use of squinches and struts and niches, - a feature which was so common with Lodi architecture.

The monument bears no historical inscriptions.

The date and the builder:

The identification of this monument and fixation of its date is a complicated study. The tomb does not bear any historical inscription recording its date. As

5. See chap. XIV ante, fn.12

for the available literature, the monument was for the first time in 1847 A.D. identified by Seyid Ahmad Khan as the tomb of Buhlul Lodi. But the author added, 'People say that it is older than the tomb of Chiragh-i-Dehli'[6]. Almost all later scholars have gone by Seyid Ahmad's identification[7]. At last H. Sharp in 1921 A.D. called it 'the alleged tomb of Bahlol Lodi' and observed, 'It bears some characteristics of the Lodi period, but does not conform either to the square or to the octagonal tombs of that time. If it is the tomb of Bahlol, who was no despicable ruler, fate served him meanly in the matter of his burial. ... The question of this tomb is doubtful ....'[8]. What is more, H. Sharp was assured by the villagers that the Shish Gunbad and not this monument at Chiragh-i-Dehli is the tomb of Buhlul Lodi[9]. Sir John Marshall then concluded, 'The tomb of Buhlul Shah, the founder of the dynasty, is said to be a low square building of somewhat mean appearance at Raushan Chiragh, Delhi, but its identity is far from certain'[10]. We have discussed this point and already concluded that the Shish Gunbad and not this monument at Chiragh-i-Dehli is the tomb of Buhlul Lodi[11]. We may, however, note here that the open space around this monument is very small and is certainly too small to accommodate the famous royal garden called the Bagh-i-Jûd in which Buhlul Lodi and also Sikandar Lodi are

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6. Athâr, p.20.

7. Cf. Harcourt, p.84; Rodgers, Revised, p.45; Keene, p.72; Fanshawe, p.288; Blakiston, vol.iii, p.138; Thomas, p.358; Tremlett, p.84 and Hearn, p.154. '... a very curious building...' - Beglar, p.78; '... built in 894 A.H. = 1488 A.D. by Sikandar Lodi ... it stands ... in a garden known as Judh Bagh.' - Stephen, p.62.

8. Sharp, p.128

9. See Sharp, p.128, fn.

10. vide. C.H.I., vol.iii, p.594, fn.

11. See chapter XIV ante, Shish Gunbad, subheading "Date and the builder".

mentioned by Muslim historians to have been buried. The monument, in fact, lies in an ordinary public graveyard and there is no tomb in its vicinity which can at all be ascribed to Sikandar Lodi. What is more, its architecture does not befit the occupier Buhlul or the builder Sikandar; whereas we have seen already that the royal garden in which both Buhlul and Sikandar are mentioned to have been buried has to be identified with the site of the present Lodi gardens at Khairpur[12]. It is difficult for us, therefore, to accept the identification of this tomb at Chiragh-i-Dehli as the tomb of Buhlul Lodi. But, after all, this is a negative approach to the problem. The question of its identity remains still open.

Now, judged from the architecture of the monument, its arches have typical Lodi repetitions, the spandrels are inscribed exactly in the Lodi manner, the eaves and brackets and niches on the frieze are but Lodi in character and the transition of the dome has also taken place typically in the Lodi style. The shape of the domes and the arches and the materials for construction also do not object to its placement during the Lodi period. One may, therefore, conclude its identification as a Lodi monument and it is possible that some noble of the Lodi court, who was, perhaps, a disciple of the saint Chiragh-i-Dehli, lies buried in this tomb with his wife. In fact, its architecture does not impress me to be so old as it is generally surmised. Its transition of the dome is almost the same as in the ruined tomb of Langar Khan at Delhi-Zamarradpur (Pl.136b) which, I think, belongs to a date later than Sikandar Lodi's time[13]. Its flutings on the dome and its slightly ogee

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12. See chap.III ante, fn. 114, 115 and 116.

13. See chap. XIII, fn.55 ante.

shape may also suggest a late Lodi tendency.

But unfortunately, in absence of any sufficient positive evidences, it is not possible on my part to pursue the problem further at the moment and arrive at a definite conclusion about the date and identification of the monument. Our contentions are, however, conclusive that the monument should not be identified as the tomb of Sultan Buhlul Lodi.

Chapter XIX

TOMB ARCHITECTURE CONCLUDED

In the foregoing chapters we have discussed the tombs raised under the Lodi dynasty and classified them mainly into four groups: square, octagonal, canopied and hall type tombs. Let us try now to point out the place of Lodi tomb architecture in the development of Islamic tomb architecture in general and, specially, in that of India and Pakistan.

So far the groundplan is concerned, we have seen that the Lodis were great patrons of the square type tombs. In fact, square type had almost always been the most popular in the traditions of Islamic tomb architecture in India as well as outside the country long before the Lodis were building their mausoleums on the same plan. The tomb of Sultan Iltutmis at Delhi-Qutb (d. 1236 A.D., Pl.125a), one of the earliest[1] existing tombs of Indo-Islamic architecture,is square in plan. The subsequent tombs of Ghiyasuddin Balban at Delhi--Mehrauli (1287 A.D.), of Alauddin Khalji at Delhi-Qutb (1316 A.D.), of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq at Delhi-Tughlaqabad (1325 A.D., Pl.125b), of Firuz Shah Tughlaq at Delhi-Haus-i-Khás (1388 A.D., Pl.126), of the saint Kabiruddin Auliya at Delhi-Shaikh Sarai (ca.1390 A.D.) - all these mausoleums are built on the square plan. Outside Delhi, in Bengal the tombs, although their angles are internally filled up into an octagon right from the base, are externally square in plan e.g. the Eklakhi tomb at Adina (1425 A.D., Pl.146a). In South India the square may be said to be the only type

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1. It may be mentioned here that the earliest existing tomb of Indo-Islamic architecture, the tomb of Sultan Ghari at Delhi (d. 1231 A.D., Pl.235) is a peculiar combination of an octagon and a square.

adopted for the Islamic tomb architecture. The mid--fourteenth century tombs of Alauddin Bahman Shah (d. 1358 A.D., Pl.146b) and of Firuz Shah Bahmani (d. 1422 A.D., Pl.146c), the fifteenth-century tombs of the Bahmani kings at Bidar and of the Farruqi kings of Khandesh (Pl.147) are all square-type tombs. In fact, similarities between the panelled square tombs of the Lodis and the comparatively earlier Bahmani tombs at Gulbarga (cf. Pl.146c) and Bidar are amazing. In West India in Gujarat the square type was not popular but in Central India at Mandu the marble tomb of Hushang (ca. 1440 A.D., Pl.145b) represents a beautiful specimen of a pre-Lodi square-type tomb. The pre-Lodi square tomb of Ali Tajir at Hansi (14th century, Pls.127 and 128) is also an example of the same type. The thirteenth-century tombs of Shah Bahaul Haqq (1262 A.D.) and of Shamsuddin Tabrizi (1276 A.D.) at Multan now in West Pakistan have also a square base, although they are octagonal at the second stage. This type of tombs, therefore, had already been in the tradition of Indo-Islamic architecture for nearly three hundred years when the Lodis were building their square mausoleums in India.

But the square type of tombs was no innovation of India herself. Before the Moslem builders introduced this type of tombs in India during the early thirteenth century, their counterparts outside India had already been building on this plan for, at least, another three hundred years. The famous mausoleum of Ismail, the Samanid at Bukhara (d. 907 A.D.) is a typical example of this type. Of the many other examples of the same plan, mention may be made of the tombs of Arslan Jadib at Sangbast (997-1028 A.D.), Dubazdah Imam at Yazd (1037 A.D.), the tomb of Sultan Sanjar at Merv (d.1157 A.D.) and of the 14th century tombs of Pir Jasus at Kirman and Imamzadah Mahmud at Bistam. In Turkey, the true square tombs were not very popular although there are a few mausoleums on this plan e.g. the tomb of Murad II at Bursa (1451 A.D.). In Egypt, however, this

type or, more correctly speaking, the quadrangular type was the only type adopted for the Islamic tomb architecture. There, however, the four walls of the quadrangular tomb chamber have a second higher stage of pierced octagon on which stands the dome. The 11th and 12th century tombs at Aswan and the Mumluke tombs dating between the 13th and the 16th centuries (which cover the Lodi period of India) are all basically square in plan. Indeed the group of the mausoleum of Barquq and Faraj at Cairo (1382-1412 A.D.) remind one of the Tin Burj group of Lodi tombs at Delhi-Mubarakpur and also of the 15th/16th century tombs at Bidar in South India.

With this background of square-type tombs outside India as well as inside, the Lodis were building their tombs on the same plan during the 15th/16th centuries in India. It is very understandable that the architectural traditions of India and also of those Moslem countries with which medieval India had contact would have influenced the building art of the Lodis. But this should not go to mean that the Lodi builders were blind imitators. In fact, the characteristics of the Lodis are so evident that one can at once distinguish a Lodi square-type tomb from a non-Lodi one. As usual, the plinth is square, the three sides of the walls are pierced with doorways and the fourth side is closed with Mihrab. But the facade of a Lodi tomb has a more prominent portal. Although we have earlier examples of the division of the surface into panels in South India, e.g. at Gulbarga (cf. Pl.146c), the feature in a Lodi monument is remarkably different. The cornice of a Lodi tomb is crowned with bolder parapets than before (cf. Pl.125b). The drum of their dome is higher and the curve of its extrados is loftier. The interior of the monument is embellished with enamelled tile decorations and the curve of the intrados of the dome is in happy symmetry with the chamber within. The Lodi builders even tried the placing of the square tomb on a big square platform,

- not hiding the mausoleum behind the enclosure walls like the tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (Pl.125b) but bringing it into more prominence (Pls.121a, b). These are among the Lodi individualities of a square-type tomb in India which can still be seen in the monuments raised by them. But this type of tombs became suddenly unpopular in North India with the end of the Lodi dynasty. In South India, however, the plan was still continued. During the 16th and 17th centuries quite a number of double-storeyed square type tombs was raised at Golkunda by the Qutb Shahi kings (Pl.148) and it can safely be observed that the climax of the square type was reached in the year 1660 A.D. by the tomb of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah, the so-called Gol Gunbad,[2] where, surprisingly enough, the pierced multi-storeyed angle-towers introduced by the Lodis in their Moth-ki-Masjid became a chief feature of a tomb with remarkable success (Pl.150).

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As for the octagonal type, the tomb of Khán-i-Jahán Tilangani at Delhi-Khirki (d. 1368-9 A.D., Pl.193b) is generally regarded as the earliest octagonal mausoleum ever raised in Indo-Islamic architecture[3]. But, I think, we have much earlier examples of octagonal tombs in India. The tomb of Sultan Ghari at Delhi (d.1231 A.D., Pl.235) cannot be regarded as a specimen of octagonal tomb but, certainly, its tomb-chamber is octagonal in

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2. The Gol Gunbad is, perhaps, the larged domical roof in the world. It covers an area of over eighteen thousand square feet, whereas the Pantheon at Rome covers 15,833 square feet.

3. See Marshall, vide. C.H.I., vol.iii, pp.591-2. See also Brown, p.25, where the author holds, "Hitherto the tomb structure had been invariably

plan. The 13th century tombs at Multan, now in West Pakistan, e.g. the tombs of Bahau-l-Haqq (1262 A.D.) and of Shamsu-d-Din Tabrizi (1276 A.D.) are, of course, square on the ground-floor but they have octagonal superstructures. At last, the tomb of Rukn-i-Alam at Multan which Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq caused to be built between the years 1320 A.D. and 1324 A.D. (Pl. 193a) appears with an octagonal ground-plan and also an octagonal superstructure. It is interesting to note in this connection that Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq built another small tomb during his reign (1320-25 A.D.) for Zafar Khan at Tughlaqabad which is also octagonal in plan[4]. And, then, in 1368-9 A.D. the octagonal tomb of Khan-i-Jahán Tilangani was built. The next octagonal tombs in Indo-Islamic architecture are those ascribed to Mubarak Shah Seyid (d. 1434 A.D., Pl.194) at Delhi-Mubarakpur and of Muhammad Shah Seyid at Delhi-Khairpur (d. 1444 A.D., Pl.195). At this stage the Lodi architects built their octagonal tomb for Sultan Sikandar Shah Lodi at Delhi-Khairpur (d. 1517 A.D.). About twenty years later, the three-storeyed octagonal tomb at Tejara was raised by Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi on the same but much developed plan.

Like the square plan, the octagon also traces its origin back to the monuments of the same type which had long before been raised beyond the borders of India and Pakistan. In Islamic architecture, the Qubbatu-'s-Sakhra of Jerusalem (early 8th century) is regarded as the

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square in plan, but that of Tilangani takes the form of an octagon, on which a new conception was evolved." - I am afraid, we cannot agree with Percy Brown on this point.

4. In 1955, I read a paper on this problem in a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca and tried to show that the opinion that octagonal tomb architecture in India begins with the tomb of Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani in 1368-9 A.D. is difficult to accept.

first monument raised on this plan.After the Qubbatu-'s--Sakhra,the Abbasid tomb known as the Qubbatu-s-Sulaibiya in Samarra (late 9th century) appears to be the next notable octagonal monument and the earliest existing octagonal tomb of Islamic architecture.The so-called 'Türbe'[4a] of Turkey,excepting those in East Anatolia and the dodecagonal Döner Kümbet at Kayseri, are almost always octagonal in plan.Examples of this type may be found at places like Kayseri,Konya,Kirsehir,Nigde,Erzrum,Bursa,Ankara,Istanbul etc. It is likely that these Turkish tombs derived their plan from North Persia.The Yildrin at Bursa is an example of a Turkish tomb with square exterior and octagonal interior which,in plan,resembles closely the Ilkhanid tomb of Öljeitü (1309-13 A.D.) and,curiously enough, also the 14th/15th century tombs of Bengal.Of course,purely octagonal type is not altogether wanting in Turkey e.g.the tomb of Mahmud Pasha at Istanbul (1464 A.D.).But still all these octagons are different from the Lodi octagon.The Egyptian builders preferred square tomb with octagonal superstructure - almost the same as we have seen in Multan.But true octagonal groundplan was often adopted for Persian tomb architecture.To my knowledge,however,octagonal structures on tombs in the Islamic architecture of Persia are not older than the 11th century.The tomb-tower of Gunbad-i-Ali at Abarquh (1056 A.D.) appears to be one of the earliest surviving octagonal tombs of Persia.From this time onward a number of octagonal tombs was raised,specially,in Persia.An unidentified tomb at Isfahan-Shahristan (late 12th century?),the Jabali Sang at Kirman (13th century),Mausoleum of Chelebi Oghlu at Sultaniya (1310 A.D.),Imamzada Jafar at Isfahan (1341 A.D.),Mausoleum of Pir-i-Jasus at Kirman (early 14th century)are among the instances of octagonal tombs which had already been built in Persia before the type became popular in India.This background is important.But the fact remains that,excepting only the octagonal plan,the pre-Mughal octagonal tombs of India are entirely different from those outside.And to my knowledge,there

4a.The türbe of Turkey have generally been treated as tomb-towers.But due to their differences from the tomb-towers in elevation and internal construction,we shall use, as kindly suggested by my supervisor Prof.Dr.K.Erdmann,the term 'türbe'rather than 'tomb-towers'.

is not one example of the Indian type in the whole field of Islamic tomb architecture outside India. The seed of octagonal plan seems well to have been brought from outside; but sowed on the Indian soil it yielded a somewhat different result which may be termed as Indo-Islamic.

Now, the Lodis themselves, we have seen, were not in great favour of the octagonal tomb. But although only two octagonal tombs were raised by them - the tomb of Sikandar Lodi and that of Alauddin Alam Khan - they were masterpieces. The tomb of Sikandar Lodi was, for the sake of prominence, placed on a huge and high square platform with arched openings set into rectangular panels. It was provided with an imposing entrance, and the entrance gateway to the south was responded to by elevations on the eastern and western sides of the enclosure walls for symmetry. The inner face of the walls was relieved with arcaded cloisters set into rectangular panels, perhaps, to break monotony. In the middle of the courtyard stood the tomb itself. A great harmony was brought through the filling process between the exterior and the interior of the dome. The result was remarkable; but the Lodi builders themselves were not fully satisfied. In their next octagonal tomb at Tejara, they took a much bigger scale, arranged the edifice into three storeys and dug a ditch on all sides. If one has seen the tomb of Sikandar at Delhi-Khairpur and that of his brother, Alam Khan Lodi, at Tejara, one should be able at once to suggest the development of the Sur tombs of Hasan Khan (ca.1535 A.D., Pls.197 and 199) and of his son Sher Shah (ca. 1540 A.D., Pls.198 and 200) at Sassaram. The type was further continued in the tomb of Isa Khan (1547 A.D., Pl.201) at Delhi-Nizamuddin and in the Mughal tomb of Adham Khan at Delhi-Qutb (1561 A.D., Pl.202). But this purely Pathan type of octagonal tombs was not continued longer; for, the Mughals developed liking for the hall type rather than

for the purely octagonal type of the Pathans. But the octagon was not altogether rejected by them. The tomb of Humayun, for example, is a combination of a hall--type ground-floor and an octagonal superstructure (1565 A.D., Pl.212). The superstructures of the tomb of Khan-i-Khan Abdur Rahim at Delhi-Nizamuddin (1627 A.D.), and of the Taj Mahal at Agra (1634 A.D., Pls. 219 and 220) are also octagonal. Of course, there is a marked difference between the Pathan octagon and the Mughal octagon (cf. Pls. 162 and 212); for, resemblances as well as differences are the very conditions of the process of development.

The canopied type of tombs was also nothing new that was constructed by the Lodi architects. But the type does not seem to be older than the 14th century in India. At least, there does not seem to exist any example of an earlier canopied tomb in the country. Of the 14th century canopied tombs, that of Shah Alam at Delhi-Wazirpur (ca. 1375 A.D., Pls. 81, 82 and 83), those on the courtyard of the shrine of Chiragh-i-Delhi (late 14th century? Pls. 84 and 85) and on the courtyard of Haus-i-Khas, Delhi, are among the interesting examples.

Numerous, but mostly not very important, examples of this type of tombs may be found in Islamic architecture almost everywhere outside India. As early as the 10th century, the canopied type of tombs was very popular in Egypt e.g. those at Aswan and, as Creswell holds, this was the only type known to the then Egyptian architects[5].

5. See Creswell, Egypt, vol.i, p.145.

We have, of course, much earlier examples of canopied structures e.g. a canopy attached to the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem and another to the Umayyad mosque of Damascus (both belonging to early 8th century). But to my knowledge, canopied structures as tombs were not very popular in the Near East.

From where fourteenth-century India adopted this type we do not know but certainly the Lodis found them already in use, at least, for about a century in India itself. Under the Lodis the number of such tombs increased a great deal. Sometimes they tried with multi canopies, mostly five, in a group e.g. the tombs of Basti Khan and of Darya Khan.

After the Lodis, this type was more commonly used for the shrines of the saints e.g. those of Yusuf Qattál at Delhi-Khirki (d. 1526-7 A.D., Pls. 65, 66 and 77a), of Imam Zamin at Delhi-Qutb (d. 1537-8 A.D., Pl.86), of the disciple of Yusuf Qattál, Shaikh Alauddin at Delhi-Shaikh Sarai (d. 1541-2 A.D., Pl.77b) and of Jalaluddin at Thaneswar (1581 A.D., Pl.79). These later canopied tombs, it may be noted, were closed on all sides with perforated screens.

*

The hall-type tombs, I mean in the sense of the great hall containing multi-chambers like the Chaurasi Gunbad, is an innovation of the Lodis in the history of the Islamic tomb architecture of India. We have comparatively earlier examples of the hypostile hall-type tombs at Gujerat e.g. the tomb of Seyid Usman (1460 A.D., Pl.237). The tomb of Darya Khan near Ahmedabad (1453 A.D.) with a central dome surrounded by domed corridors on all sides may also be treated as a

hall-type tomb. But, architecturally, they are very different from the Lodi tomb of the same character, the so-called tomb of Buhlul Lodi at Chiragh-i-Dehli (cf. Pl.141). Its similarities with an unidentified tomb at Delhi-Babarpur Bazidpur (Pl.142) are very close but the date and identification of that monument being not known, it is difficult to conclude if, at least, the hypostile hall-type tombs had already been there in Delhi before the Lodi period. But it can be said with certainty that the multi-chambered hall-type tomb of the Lodis like the Chaurasi Gunbad at Kalpi is an innovation.

I have not come across any earlier example of such hall-type tombs anywhere else in India or outside the country. The tomb of the Seventy-seven Governors at Aswán in Egypt (11th century?) is, of course, a much earlier example of a hall-type in the sense that the mausoleum consists of a central tomb-chamber with surrounding domed corridors. But the Chaurasi Gunbad with a big hall of sixty chambers and with arched openings on all sides is an entirely different piece of architecture. Turkey offers no example, at least I have not come across any, of a hall-type tomb. But in Persia we find, at least, one example, the tomb of Harun Vilaya at Isfahan which was constructed during the Safavid period in 1512 A.D. and which is much nearer in style to the Chaurasi Gunbad of the Lodis at Kalpi. The development of this type in Persia from its tradition of the Iwan type is not difficult to understand. And, as we are in favour of dating the Chaurasi Gunbad about the twenties of the 16th century, it is possible that the Lodis took this plan from Persia.

The Mughals developed great liking for the hall type or, more correctly speaking, a combination of the

hall type and the octagonal type. Their first monumental tomb, that of Humayun at Delhi (1565 A.D., Pl.212) is in the first storey a multi-chambered hall and in the second, an octagonal superstructure. The next notable Mughal mausoleum, the tomb of Akbar the Great Mughal at Agra-Sikandra (finished in 1612-13 A.D., Pls. 214, 215 and 216) is a rather curious monument. Its gateway is typically Persian and so also are its intersecting arches and the methods of decoration. But its arrangement in multi storeys which is the most striking feature of this monument seems to be connected with the same arrangement in the Lodi tomb at Tejara and, after that, in the Sur tomb of Sher Shah at Sassaram. As for its groundplan and overall setting, it is not too much to say that the Chaurasi Gunbad of the Lodis served as the model for this Mughal monument (cf. Pls. 203-11 and 214-16). The same principles guided the Mughal architects when they built the tombs of Muhammad Ghaus at Gwalior (ca. 1564 A.D., Pl.213), of Mariamu-'z--Zamani at Agra-Sikandra (d. 1623 A.D., Pl.217)[6], of I'timatu-'d-Dawla at Agra (begun 1628 A.D., Pl.218a), of Jahangir at Lahore-Shahdera (ca. 1628 A.D., Pl.218b) and the incomplete tomb of Nur Jahan at Lahore-Shahdera (ca. 1628 A.D.). In case of the Taj Mahal at Agra (1634 A.D., Pls. 219 and 220) the multi-chambered hall of the ground-floor became a closed platform, only the central tomb-chamber being maintained in a vault. The octagonal superstructure with a central bulbous dome responded to by four canopies at the angles of the roof and also by four tapering towers or Minars at the angles of the platform are but successful rearrangements of the

6. This monument is said to have, originally, been the Baradari of Sikandar Lodi where, later on, Mariamu--z-Zamani was interred, - an opinion which I find difficult to accept. I shall substantiate my views elsewhere. It may be sufficient to mention here that the monument is typically Mughal in character and I hold that it was raised entirely by the Mughals, of course, on the Lodi plan of Chaurasi Gunbad.

traditional features. The links of the Taj Mahal with the Islamic tomb architecture beyond the western limits of India, specially Persia, cannot be denied; but it is an accomplished fact that its entire plan and arrangement had been deep-rooted in the pre-Mughal tomb architecture of India, specially under their immediate predecessors, the Lodis. The traditions of Islamic tomb architecture in India were so moving that during the seventeenth century and on the banks of the blue Jumna the white Taj was bound to be built and so it was.

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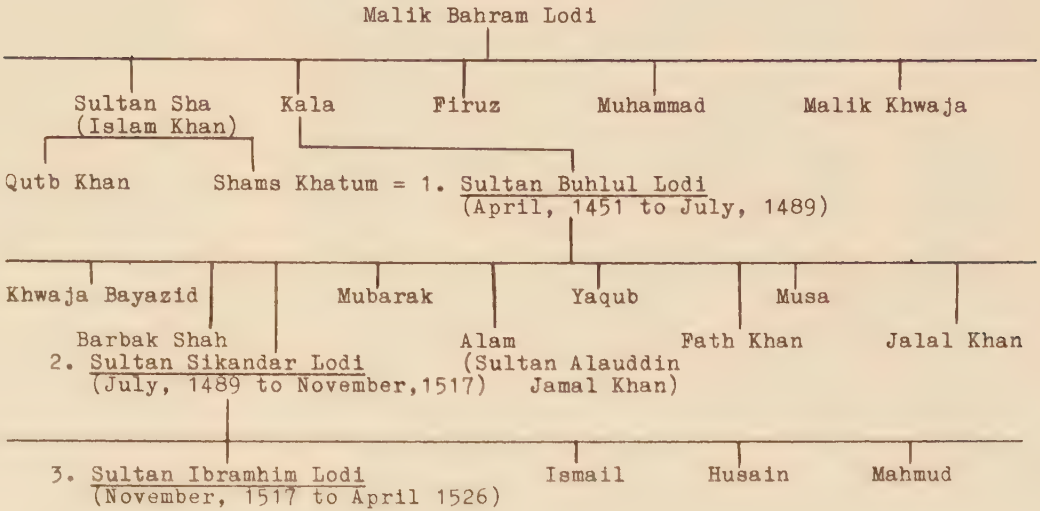
GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE LODIS



APPENDIX D

CURRICULUM VITAE

On the first day of January 1928, I was born as the first issue of Maulvi Muhammad Idris Ali, a school teacher, and his wife, Begum Ayesha Ali at Kaliachak in the district of Malda, now, in India.

In 1932, I was put to the Kaliachak M. E. School and in 1937 I passed from there the Middle English Examination with the distinction of Government scholarship holder. From 1938 to 1941, I visited the Malda Zilla School and passed the Matriculation Examination of the University of Calcutta in the First Division and with Government scholarship. From 1942 to 1946, I was a student of the Rajshahi College and from there I passed the Bachelor of Arts Examination of the University of Calcutta in 1946 with Honours in History in the Second Division and with the distinction of L. M. Moitra Gold Medallist. After that I studied at the University of Calcutta from 1946 to 1948 and I passed from there the Master of Arts Examination of 1948 in Islamic History and Culture with Fine Arts and Architecture as my special paper and with the distinctions of First in First Class, Calcutta University Gold Medallist and Calcutta University Prizeman.

In April 1949 began my professional career when I joined the Calcutta Madrasah as Assistant Lecturer in Islamic History and Culture. In June 1949, I was promoted as Lecturer, Central Calcutta College. In March 1950 I was appointed part-time Lecturer of the University of Calcutta. In January 1951, I resigned from my Calcutta posts, migrated from India to Pakistan and joined the University of Dacca as Lecturer in Islamic History and Culture. In August 1953, I resigned from the Dacca University and joined the East Pakistan Educational Service as Professor of Islamic History and Culture. From there I was deputed as Assistant Planning Advisor of the Educa-

tion Directorate, Government of East Pakistan and simultaneously as part-time Lecturer at the University of Dacca. In April 1954, I was deputed to the University of Dacca from my post in the East Pakistan Educational Service. In October 1956, I resigned from my post as Professor under the Government and joined the University of Dacca again as Lecturer in Islamic History and Culture.

From 1954 to 1958 I visited almost all the centres of Indo-Islamic Architecture in India and Pakistan in course of seven educational tours organised by the Department of Islamic History and Culture and sponsored by the University of Dacca.

Since February 1958, I am on study leave from the University of Dacca for advanced studies in Germany. From February to June 1958 I visited the Goethe Institut in Arolsen/ Waldeck for learning German and passed the Grundstufe 2 Examination with "Sehr gut".

Since July 1958, I have been working at the Freie Universität Berlin on 'The Lodi Phase of Indo-Islamic Architecture' under the guidance of Professor Dr. Hans Kauffmann, Direktor des kunsthistorischen Institutes der Freien Universität Berlin.

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END OF THE TEXT

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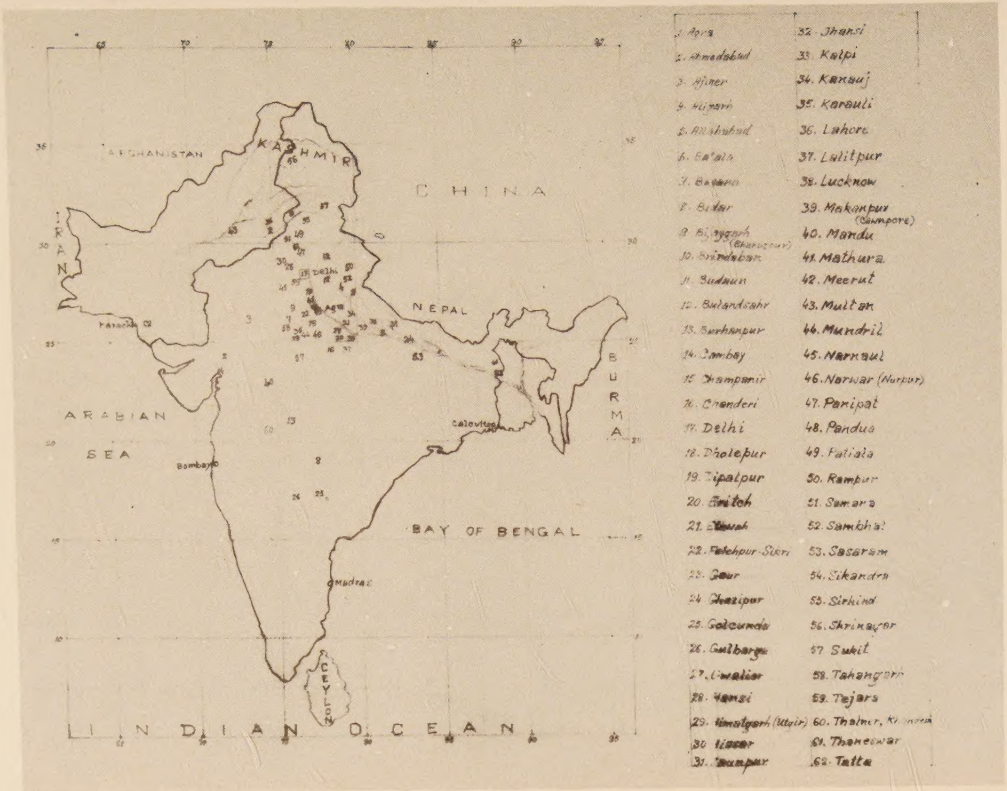
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ARABIAN SEA
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INDIAN OCEAN
CEYLON
Bombay
Calcutta
Madras
1. Agra
2. Ahmadabad
3. Ajmer
4. Ajmere
5. Allahabad
6. Batala
7. Benares
8. Bidar
9. Bijaygarh (Ghazipur)
10. Brindaban
11. Budaun
12. Bulandshahr
13. Burhanpur
14. Cambay
15. Champanir
16. Chanderi
17. Delhi
18. Dholepur
19. Fipalpur
20. Fatch
21. Ghazah
22. Fatehpur-Sikri
23. Gaur
24. Ghazipur
25. Golcunda
26. Gulbarga
27. Gwalior
28. Hansi
29. Himatgarh (Utgir)
30. Hissar
31. Jaunpur
32. Jhansi
33. Kalpi
34. Kanauj
35. Kanauli
36. Lahore
37. Lalitpur
38. Lucknow
39. Makanpur (Cawnpore)
40. Mandu
41. Mathura
42. Meerut
43. Multan
44. Mundril
45. Narnaul
46. Narwar (Narbur)
47. Panipat
48. Pandua
49. Patiala
50. Rampur
51. Samana
52. Sambhal
53. Sasaram
54. Sikandra
55. Sirhind
56. Shrinagar
57. Sukit
58. Tahangarh
59. Tajara
60. Thalner, Khandesh
61. Thaneswar
62. Tatta